

## Race Has Best District in Los Angeles, Report

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 27. — Central avenue, the Race's main business thoroughfare, and surrounding territory, was named in a report of the zoning commission of the city to the city government as the most desirable—with one exception—business property in the city.

The commission predicted that "big business" will eventually move into the district.

This situation may be likened to that in Tulsa, Okla., previous to the riot. The whites there discovered that the part of the city occupied by the Race was of more value than that they possessed, so they proceeded to get it. Race property owners will do well to keep away from all developments, as it is learned that the city has adopted the program of the zoning commission.

**AFTERMATH OF THE TULSA RACE RIOT**  
By A. J. Smitherman.

Shortly after the race riot of May 31st and June 1st in Tulsa, Oklahoma, resulting in the death and wounding of more than two hundred men, women and children, the most of whom were colored people, and the wanton destruction of more than two million dollars' worth of property, there appeared to be a deep sense of remorse and responsibility on the part of Tulsa white people which was given expression through the local newspapers, and the outside world was led to believe through Associated Press Dispatches that growing out of this apparent feeling of penitence would come some substantial atonement for the atrocities of the riot by the rebuilding of the burned colored district with funds subscribed by constructive white citizens of Tulsa.

The Tulsa World, considered the conservative newspaper of that city, in a front page article published Wednesday morning following the riot of the night before made a magnificent appeal to the conscience of white Tulsa in an effort to raise funds for the relief of thousands of homeless colored people who were for the most part innocent victims of mob hysteria and for the rebuilding of the colored district. The same edition carried a strong editorial in support

of this appeal in which the writer comes before the bar of public opinion with the following confession:

"The Matter of Shame." "Proud, matchless Tulsa before the bar of Christian civilization this day, and with head bowed, the mantle of shame upon her cheek, and we sincerely hope with deep regret in her heart, asks that she be pardoned the great offense some of her citizens committed Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

"There is not a man worthy of the name whose heart is not aflame with indignation against that which has been done. Members of a superior race, boastful of the fact permitted themselves to degenerate into murderers and vandals. They permitted themselves to deal their home community the foulest blow it has ever received in its history. Language is incapable of painting the wrong which has been committed against the community and its law-abiding citizens or expressing the indignity one invariably feels towards men incapable of controlling their passions and their prejudices.

The announcement from Washington that the Federal authorities would investigate the Tulsa riot as an aftermath of the race rioting of last June, is again approaching a condition of normalcy. The tented city that sprang up in the wake of the flames and offered shelter to hundreds of homeless Negroes, has been replaced in large measure by comfortable two room houses. Ninety of these houses have been built, largely through efforts of the American Red Cross which has acted as agent of a number of relief organizations contributing to the alleviation of the Negroes' condition. In addition to the homes which have been put up, several one-two and three-story business buildings have been erected out of the ashes of former structures which disappeared in the swirl of angry flames that terminated the race warfare. These buildings have been built not only by Negro merchants, but by white men whose property, which had been rented to Negroes, was destroyed. The Negro dwellings put up through Red Cross, which is also contributing \$150 each. Many other homes have been erected by Negroes who had funds to replace their lost dwellings. A hospital is being erected by the Negroes under the supervision of the Red Cross, which is also contributing

Public opinion in Tulsa which immediately following the riot and massacre seemed to favor the colored people was soon crystallized into a feeling exactly the converse, and instead of expressions of regret and sympathy there was, at the break of day next morning, among some of the whites, open talk of further violence against the hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property—the homes of colored people. Following the change of sentiment the Tulsa World again came to the fore—went up in smoke. Semi-organized bands of white men systematically applied the torch while others shot on sight men of color.

"The German invasion of Belgium with its awful consequences was no more justified or characterized with any greater cruelty."

"Law and Order." "Because of it Tulsa is blazoned as a community where the Con of their homes and all earthly possessions. They would drive

be enforced or suspended at will; them out for ever.

"To where? In calm reason let this question be answered. Helpless women and babes were roaming the woodlands about Tulsa for thirty-six hours. Surrounding towns had reared a barrier of armed guards to keep them out. They were pariahs upon the face of the earth. They had been driven out and had no where to go.

"Standing high above every recognizable fact is that tremendous unsurmountable truth; these people have a right to life, to the pursuit of happiness and to their earthly possessions. To deny them those rights is to set aside the basic law of the land and deliberately take a key-stone from the arch of government in this country.

"Not only that, but they are essential to our economic and industrial life. You cannot drive ten or twelve thousand people from any community in the world without impairing the commercial and business life of that community.

**BURNED SECTION OF TULSA ALMOST REBUILT.**

**SUBSTANTIAL HOMES AND PLACES OF BUSINESS ARE BEING CONSTRUCTED ON FLAME SWEPT AREA.**

Tulsa, Jan. 19. — Tulsa's Negro section, wiped out in part by the conflagration which swept the district as an aftermath of the race rioting of last June, is again approaching a condition of normalcy. The tented city that sprang up in the wake of the flames and offered shelter to hundreds of homeless Negroes, has been replaced in large measure by comfortable two room houses. Ninety of these houses have been built, largely through efforts of the American Red Cross which has acted as agent of a number of relief organizations contributing to the alleviation of the Negroes' condition.

In addition to the homes which have been put up, several one-two and three-story business buildings have been erected out of the ashes of former structures which disappeared in the swirl of angry flames that terminated the race warfare. These buildings have been built not only by Negro merchants, but by white men whose property, which had been rented to Negroes, was destroyed. The Negro dwellings put up through Red Cross, which is also contributing \$150 each. Many other homes have been erected by Negroes who had funds to replace their lost dwellings. A hospital is being erected by the Negroes under the supervision of the Red Cross, which is also contributing

conducting classes in sewing for the Negro women, teaching them to make supplies needed in the hospital and in their homes. The new year, according to housing experts, saw a better Negro section in Tulsa than existed before the fire, the district having been planned as a unit in its rebuilding and therefore designed more uniformly than its predecessor.

**THE AFTERMATH OF TULSA**  
By A. J. Smitherman for the Associated Negro Press.

The Tulsa World, in the two above editorials, assumed a real Puritan spirit of fairness, but the pity is that even this influential paper was compelled later on to yield this fine spirit to public clamor and abandon the worthy cause it set out to champion—that of raising funds for the thousands of homeless colored people who had lost all earthly possessions as a result of mob hysteria, to which, according to the Tulsa World of June 2, "Here and there good citizenship responded."

Later on the Tulsa World joined in with the propagandists in an attempt to shift responsibility for the riot and massacre to the colored people and sought to politely excuse that which at first it had bitterly denounced. In line with this new program the grand jury met and indicted seventy-nine colored men for inciting riot and nineteen white men for looting. The white men have all been released with light fines or completely exonerated, while the colored men are either in jail or out under heavy bond, or have thus far evaded apprehension.

Thousands of colored people left Tulsa during the riot and shortly following it. Some of these have returned in the hope of profiting by the false spirit of penitence and good intentions of the Tulsa whites to rebuild their homes and business places. In this, however, they were sadly disappointed.

Close on the heels of the colored people who fled from Tulsa were many substantial white men who did not care longer to invest their money where mobs may with impunity destroy over night a life time's accumulation. These white men reasoned, and logically, that if organized bands of outlaws may murder colored men, women and children, plunder and destroy their homes and places of business as they had done in Tulsa, no such place was entirely safe for white men.



Three Million Dollars Withdrawn. rors of the recent "race war" which July reports of the Tulsa bank had left them only the ruins and through the Clearing House Association showed that more than three million dollars was withdrawn from these institutions following the riot. This of course had a deteriorating effect on the financial standing of Tulsa. Whether or not this money represented the savings of industrious and thrifty colored people is immaterial. The effect is the same.

The reparation program launched by the Tulsa World now gave place to a destructive program of humiliation and intimidation of colored people. Money sent by sympathizers of both races from other states was quite inadequate to meet the situation and the method of using it was questionable until a committee of colored men was selected.

It soon developed that the whites were looking upon the burned colored district with covetous eyes and evil designs. The city commissioners passed an ordinance extending the fire limits so as to include the colored district which was in effect a confiscatory act intended to prevent colored men from rebuilding their property. This move was heartily approved by the Tulsa Real Estate Association.

Mayor T. D. Evans, who was himself a member of the real estate firm of Hopkins and Evans, was known to favor and had advocated removing the colored district a mile further north in order that the burned district might be used for industrial purposes.

A "Reconstruction Committee" appointed by Mayor Evans three hours after confirmation by the city commissioners passed a resolution authorizing a general invitation to wholesalers and industrial men of the country to consider Tulsa as a vantage point for the location of industrial plants, having in mind, of course, the burned colored district. There was also some talk of using this land for a union depot site. Railroad men consulted by real estate representatives, raised the question of title and the matter was referred to lawyers for determination.

#### Test Law in Courts.

Colored men, however, did not prove the meek, easy victims that the fathers of this scheme had anticipated. Undaunted by the horror-

of the recent "race war" which had left them only the ruins and ashes of what once was imposing brick structures, these men of color went into the white man's courts to test the validity of what was now plainly a scheme to rob them of all that was left them by the murderers and vandals who composed the mob. If the city officials did not take an active part in the destructive work of the mob during the riot and massacre, they were certainly taking a leading part now in completing that destruction by fostering this scheme. But sometimes, colored men get justice, even in Oklahoma, The case was tried before Judge W. B. Williams in the Superior Court of Tulsa County, an able jurist, whose high sense of honor and fairness was clearly demonstrated in his decision which favored the colored men. As a result of this decision white men were forced to give up their pet scheme and those colored men who were able immediately began a reconstruction program of their own. Many new buildings have been erected and more are under constructions. Colored Tulsa is slowly coming back. But it will be many years before Tulsa fully recovers from the baneful effects of her madness, if, indeed, she ever does. A lawless mob left to its own beastly passion may destroy more in a night than a whole generation can rebuild in a life time.

#### Hundreds of Huts Stand.

While some few are rebuilding their homes and business places with their own money, or money obtained outside of Tulsa (because here is a tacit understanding among those who control the money in Tulsa that no financial assistance will be given colored men which to rebuild their property in the business district of the burned area) yet there are thousands who are not so fortunate. Hundreds of huts now stand where comfortable homes stood before June 1st and in these huts thousands of women and children, "black in color" to be sure, but guilty of no other offense are now huddling closely together in an effort to protect their scantily garbed and underfed bodies from the ravages of winter, a little less tolerable, perhaps, than the cold indifference of their white brothers and sisters who recently paid the Rev. Billy Sunday \$17,000

for preaching their sins away. In the meantime the East End Relief Committee, S. D. Hooker, Chairman, is sending out the S. O. S. signal for funds to abate the suffering of the Tulsa riot victims. Thus the history of the nation's most destructive "race war" is written. Hundreds of lives lost and millions of property destroyed. Innocent men and women whose only offense, according to the white man's own words, was their color driven from their homes and made pariahs on the face of the earth. Vandals and murderers rule supreme in a raging torrent of mob hysteria; innocent babes made motherless, devoted wives left widows, and children by the score made fatherless at the hands of an infuriated mob composed of men who boast of their inherent superiority.

## TULSA SUFFERERS STILL USE COTS FOR THEIR BEDS

*Chicago Herald*  
Aid Comes Slowly: Red Cross

Withdraws Help: Urban

League Takes Hand

4/2/22

Tulsa, Okla., April 7.—The withdrawal of the American Red Cross from the devastated area at the beginning of the year, draws attention again to the unfortunate victims of the riot almost forgotten in the crush of new excitement. But the victims themselves can not forget so soon. There remain even yet too many charred reminders of the comforts and prosperity that were snatched from them overnight. Although during the six months the Red Cross has been working in the area it has disbursed approximately \$100,000 for relief work, many families are still living in tents. Sixty per cent of the riot sufferers are still using the cots issued in June. The men have been contributing their own labor to the rebuilding of the homes destroyed by hoodlums of the city.

#### Build 745 Houses

By actual count 745 houses have been rebuilt. The women have been making comforts and quilts, 18,000 of which were burnt up during the riot. Directly after the Tulsa horror, a wave of remorse seemed to sweep over the city and to envelope the white citizens, saddling them with a realization of their guilt. The Tulsa World, the leading conservative paper of the city, in two strong editorials, assumed the "real Puritan spirit of fairness" and the first reaction to its appeal for restitution was a promising one. But when public opinion the country over began to point the finger of scorn at white Tulsa, those who had practically confessed their guilt, assumed a defensive attitude and shifted the blame to the defenseless. As a result the contributions to the rebuilding of the burned area became smaller and the fund proved entirely inadequate.

#### County Gives \$60,000

Of the \$100,000 disbursed by the Red Cross in this relief work, only \$29,600 was furnished by public contribution, \$60,000 having been given by the county and \$1,400 by the city. Although the Red Cross has announced that its work of relief is finished, the need is still great and the East End relief committee is still calling for funds to abate the suffering of the riot victims.

In an effort to knit together the frayed edges of estranged relations, the National Urban league has had a representative, George W. Buckner, in Tulsa looking to the establishment of a joint committee of both races in this locality. The Race, though willing, is not yet able to do much and the more affluent whites, though more able, are not yet willing. Tulsa, six months after the riot, is still at odds with itself.



Riots—1922.

# SECOND VIEW OF CITY OF RUINS

*St. Louis Argosy Mo. 4/21/22*  
**Wonderful Change Has Come Over The Once "Forsaken" City, Tulsa. Will She Come Back? Is An Important Question Which Is Being Asked. The Building Program Is Going Up On Paper—Then What? Great Need Of Social Leadership.**

By **GEORGE W. BUCKNER**

**Special Representative Of The National Urban League**

"Wonderful" is the spontaneous acclaim of anyone who visits Tulsa today after seeing the burned area immediately following the disaster there June first of last year. The former business section which consisted largely of Greenwood Avenue has been transformed from ragged, unsightly walls to modern structures where small thriving businesses of every kind are meeting the needs of the people. The former residential sections which resembled a soldier's camp in war, having been covered with tents and improvised shacks, are now being rapidly replaced by more substantial homes. But very few of the tents furnished by the Red Cross now remain. So much for a hasty material perspective.

What about the spirit now manifested by the Negroes? Let it be said unreservedly that the spirit exhibited from the beginning by the Tulsa Negroes, on the whole should be the pride of the whole race. Under the most cruel and soul-crushing conditions they have simply put their backs against the wall determined to die, if needs be, in Tulsa.

One well-to-do man epitomized the general feeling when he said: "I told one of the Commissioners the other day when he asked me what I was going to do, that I was going to start over right here in Tulsa where I started before." Most of the people who had acquired any property at all had secured it there. It is but natural therefore that they fell bound to their home." With this feeling the Negroes have succeeded in squelching the agitation about taking their land for industrial purposes. They have succeeded in preventing the fire zone from being extended, and in winning to their cause many of the prominent white people. Other problems which

appear insolvable by Tulsa Negroes alone, however, are observed, and these strike to the very roots of their future progress.

## Present Economic Status

In the first place, the wealth of the Negro of Tulsa has been grossly exaggerated. Much of the property which was controlled by Negroes was heavily mortgaged. Several Negroes each, however, owned from ten to twenty houses with a rental income ranging between \$150 and \$350 per month. These, for the most part, were of the small three room type. There was also one block of excellent homes ranging in values between \$3,000 and \$5,000 each owned largely by professional people. Most of this property was entirely wiped out. The majority of the business section has always been either heavily mortgaged or owned by whites. What the Negroes would have accomplished in another three years can only be estimated.

The new buildings now being erected by Negroes are going up "on paper." The interest rates are exorbitant and carpenters and bricklayers are charging \$12.00 per day for their labor. There is not a new building put up by Negroes that is completed because the borrowed sum in each case has given out. Authentic sources, white and black, assert that the people simply will be forced to figure closely to meet their notes. Indeed, the next twelve months will be the real test of the economic strength of the Tulsa Negro! It is commendable, however, that the credit of many of the Negroes has already been re-established, for several homes and businesses have even been built on "open account."

## Large Sums Not Provided

The public should also know that

the large sums which certain national Negro organizations promised to give were nothing more, apparently, than skillfully calculated propaganda for additional members. Too much cannot be said, however, in praise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which gathered and expanded more than \$3,500 in relief and legal work. In this connection mention should also be made of the constructive piece of social service work done by the Red Cross which secured and expended upwards of \$100,000 in relief work. The mere pittance doled out by two Negro organizations to their individual members was indeed a shameful reproach upon intelligent leadership. The lump sums, however small, should have been used constructively for instance, toward the building of houses, office buildings, or the establishment of businesses. Tulsa seriously needs houses and business establishments and those that are in process of construction must be adequately financed. The "Brotherhood of Man" is indeed meaningless unless these people on a purely business basis are aided over this their most critical period.

Furthermore, the great majority of the former home owners can now get no credit at all, not even at the excessive rates. The ultimate result will be turning over of their land to the white people. These people as you see will then have experienced both a "burning out" and a "freezing out." Because of the mild winter there has fortunately been no acute suffering or need of extra food and clothing. Thus, the economic situation in Tulsa must be viewed now by the country at large, not in the light of sentiment but upon sound business principles. Economic rehabilitation will mean the rebirth of Tulsa's Negro population and economic failure will mean death to the spirit of a deserving people, and shame to the whole race.

## Lack of Social Leadership

In addition to the economic problems which these Negroes face, is another of equal importance—the lack of social leadership. Perhaps it is safe to say that there is no city in our country today which offers a greater opportunity for social service than Tulsa. Here eight or ten thousand Negroes live in an entirely segregated section. Their contact with the whites outside of business and domestic service relations has almost been nil, and they have seemed not only to be satisfied under such conditions, but to have capitalized their isolation using it as the stimulus to race pride and race elevation. The needs and accomplishments of the Tulsa Negro have not therefore been made known to the whites. In this connection it should be stated that much good was accomplished by

the Colored Y. M. C. A. before it became inactive in the late summer following the disaster. This work was supported by the colored people as only a few of the influential whites had become acquainted with the more intelligent Negroes.

In an effort to develop a social service program which would effectuate co-operative relations between the races, the National Urban League League dispatched me to Tulsa a few days after the riot and again in July. I am now writing enroute from Tulsa after a two weeks stay there where again I have been in touch with the leaders among both white and colored groups for the purpose of establishing a branch of the Urban League Movement. I found that the leaders among the Negroes now realize that there must be in Tulsa a social service agency with strong leadership to develop the proper influence among the men and women and to build a better and more stable citizenship. This feeling has been strengthened by the fact that the lawless elements which formerly found Tulsa a convenient market to ply their trades, are fast disappearing and their places are rapidly being taken by stable Negro families coming largely from Texas.

Fortunately, there are many whites who also sense the situation among Negroes with intelligence and sympathy. They not only are imbued with sentiment, but are also filled with the desire to improve the whole community and therefore the lot of all who dwell in Tulsa. Here could be mentioned the names of several ministers, business men, lawyers, club women, and others—all prominent and intensely interested in better conditions among Negroes.

It now appears that an Urban League will be established in Tulsa within a short time and these leaders black and white, working together must provide some group recreational facilities for Negroes; must handle their industrial opportunities more intelligently; must see that the school plants now little used offer evening classes for the working girls and women and for the men who are employed in industrial and household occupations; must prevail upon the church to socialize its program and to insist upon a better trained Negro ministry; must remove ignorant Negro political leaders who are the prey of white ward-healers, both of whom, are enemies of good citizenship; must see that justice in every respect is meted out alike to all citizens, irrespective of color. In brief, such a movement must strive in the name of Christian statesmanship to help these people of remarkable hope in the face of adversity to become citizens in every sense of the word and to share equality with other racial groups all the joys as well as the sorrows of the city, thus uplifting the whole community life of Tulsa.

## TRICKERY AT TULSA

Tulsa is the town in Oklahoma, which earned infamous notoriety over a year ago, by inciting a riot in which many of the Negro inhabitants were slain and their homes, business places and churches destroyed by fire. It was pretty clearly shown at the time that the city authorities came at, if they did not actually take part in this destruction of life and property.

When the Negroes, with undaunted courage, started to rebuild on the sites formerly occupied by them, every effort was made to hamper their progress and to locate them further out of town. The section they had occupied had become so valuable as to excite the cupidity of the whites of the town. The courts decided against this effort to rob the Negroes of their land, so other measures were adopted to hamper their progress.

A recent news dispatch told how a police order required that Tulsa hotels discharge all Negro employees whose duties brought them in contact with guests. This was later modified by the chief of police so as to apply only to rooming houses and small transient hotels. It was further stated that the City Commission will soon enact an ordinance to regulate the employment of Negroes in all public places. The pretext upon which such discrimination is based was given as "moral reasons."

It might better have been stated as "unmoral reasons," as greed and avarice, envy, hatred and malice are at the bottom of this action. What the whites of Tulsa failed to gain by incendiarism and murder, they are seeking to accomplish by trickery in the form of law. The courts will probably decide against such a measure as the one proposed.

## TULSA POLICE WILL NOT ISSUE ORDER ON NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

(Associated Press)  
TULSA, OKLA., June 9.—No order will be issued by the Tulsa police department prohibiting negroes or any other race from being employed in hotels and rooming houses, according to a formal statement issued today by W. Kiskaddon, police commissioner, and Reese Morgan, chief of police.

The statement declared an ordinance is being written designed to prohibit employment in hotels of undesirable persons of any race and that color will not constitute the basis of discrimination. Records as to the integrity and morality alone shall govern the selection of suit-



able hotel employees, the statement said.

The statement was issued after it had been reported that hotel proprietors had been ordered to discharge all negro men employees. Chief Morgan said today that these orders were issued verbally by policemen to several hotel and rooming house managers, but that only undesirable negroes were included. He said the order was issued in the interest of morality.

## TULSA IN 1922, *Ohio State Journal*

Life in the Valley of Death.

By William Pickens

*Cleveland, N.P., Ohio*  
The Colored people had a fine little segregated section before the massacre—business of all sorts, amusements and elegant homes. Then came the mob. It was a very CALCULATING mob. It brought trucks, hundreds of trucks, to steal the goods of the Negro. Great trucks were backed up in front of Negro dry goods stores, Negro groceries, shops and residences, and everything worth while was loaded on and carted off—and then oil or gasoline was poured on what remained and a match struck. The Colored men, women and children were shot or butchered or driven away. On went the mob—not so much bent on vengeance as on Getting.

Loot—loot—loot. 11-23-22

For months after the massacre Colored women would catch white women on the streets of Tulsa wearing the silks and fineries ravished and stolen from these Colored women—proud white women! And some of the black women were bold enough to hale the white women into court or otherwise take back the stolen property.

But now there has been Resurrection in this Valley of Death—Resurrection!

Over all the desolate acres that were swept by fire and ploughed by bullets there are now dwellings and the business houses of black people—some temporarily built, most permanently built and many built better than before. There are now fifteen thousand of these Colored folk—perhaps more than before the massacre—and just think—the fool robber-mob thought it was ridding itself and Tulsa of Colored folk forever.

Segregation forced these Colored people into possession of one of the best sections of all the land about Tulsa. They have encamped, so to speak, in the great valley to the south west and so cut off forever the advance of the whites in that direction. Where today is all this teeming life,

there, there was fifteen months ago a burned wilderness like the track of a forest fire.

And think of it—they did not get any fire insurance, for they did not have "riot insurance," and you are not paid on ordinary insurance when your house is burned by a mob. Most people do not know that. Most of them lost everything, and like God they have created this something of today out of nothing.

Many of the houses are still unfinished, built only on the outside. There is Mrs. Williams' theater. Before the riot it was one of the finest little play houses in the city. It was destroyed. It is rebuilt; the inside is unfinished and the ceiling not yet in. But it is patronized—a great crowd every show of every night in the week. She was not able to buy opera seats for the whole auditorium and the third back of the house has the old-time backless plank benches. But these benches are crowded.

O, the spirit of these people!

How it wrings your heart to hear the tales they tell of the days when hell swept over them. We wonder why they did not all leave. They have the victory in STAYING.



Riots - 1921

Tulsa (Okla.)

# Will Tulsa Riots Horrors Awaken America's Indifferent Attitude

Chicago Defender

7-22-21

By A. J. SMITHERMAN

Shortly after the race riot of May 31 and June 1 in Tulsa, Okla., resulting in the death and wounding of more than 200 men, women and children, the most of whom were our people, and the wanton destruction of more than \$2,000,000 worth of property, there appeared to be a deep sense of remorse and responsibility on the part of Tulsa white people which was given expression through the local newspapers, and the outside world was led to believe through Associated Press dispatches that growing out of this apparent feeling of penitence would come some substantial atonement for the atrocities of the riot by the rebuilding of the burned district with funds subscribed by constructive white citizens of Tulsa.



A. J. Smitherman

The Tulsa World, considered the conservative newspaper of that city in a front page article published Wednesday morning following the riot of the night before, made a magnificent appeal to the conscience of white Tulsa in an effort to raise funds for the relief of thousands of homeless people who were for the most part innocent victims of mob hysteria, and for the rebuilding of the district. The same edition carried a strong editorial in support of this appeal in which the writer comes before the bar of public opinion with the following confession:

"Proud, matchless Tulsa comes before the bar of Christian civilization this day, and with head bowed, the mantle of shame upon her cheek, and, we sincerely hope, with deep regret in her heart, asks that she be pardoned the great offense some of her citizens committed during the night and Wednesday morning.

## Hot with Indignation

"There is not a man worthy of the name whose heart is not afire with indignation against that which has been done. Members of a superior race, boastful of the fact, permitted themselves to degenerate into murderers and vandals; permitted themselves to deal their home community the foulest blow it has ever received in its history. . . . Language is incapable of painting the wrong which has been committed against the community and its peaceful, law-abiding citizens or expressing the indignity one invariably feels towards men incapable of controlling their passions and their prejudices. . . .

"It is true that the pride of race to as well as prejudice is a consuming fire in the veins of every nationality. On this ground, one would like, were it possible, to condone or excuse the hysteria of Tuesday evening and night, when the streets of the city were suddenly transformed into a raging torrent of hate impelled men. . . .

"But nothing that the mind is capable of conceiving permits a word of defense or excuse for the murderous vandalism which set in at day-break the next morning. Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property—the homes of women and children, black in color, to be sure, but guilty of no other offense—went up in smoke. Semi-organized bands of white men systematically applied the torch while others shot on sight men of color.

"The German invasion of Belgium with its awful consequences was no more unjustified or characterized with any greater cruelty. . . .

"Because of it Tulsa is blazoned as a community where the constitution of the United States can be enforced or suspended at will; where justice and race bigotry rule, and where law and order haltingly flex the knee to outlawry. . . .

## Tulsa Must Restore

"Will Tulsa accept such a reputation willingly? Will this city tolerate such injustice—accept meekly the sudden ending of its dream of primacy and glory? If not, then the substantial constructive citizenship must immediately get into action. There is but one way in which Tulsa can rehabilitate itself either in its own eyes or in the eyes of the outside world. That is by rebuilding that which has been destroyed. Vandalism has taken the homes and savings of thousands of people. Tulsa must restore that which has been taken."

A very splendid spirit indeed to rise from the smouldering ruins of the most horrible "race war" recorded in this history of our proud country—if it had only lasted.

But, strange enough, a few days brought a decided change in public opinion, and instead of general expressions of regret, there came a suppressed feeling of fear of consequences which manifested itself in absurd accusations against our men. The announcement from Washington that the federal authorities would investigate the Tulsa riot probably accounts for this sudden change of front. But of course there has never been and probably never will be an federal investigation into this atrocity.

Public sentiment in Tulsa which, immediately following the riot and massacre, seemed to favor the stricken people, was soon crystallized into a feeling exactly the reverse, and instead of expressions of regret and sympathy there was, among some of the whites, open talk of further violence. Following this change of sentiment the Tulsa World again came to the forefront in defense of a crushed and outraged group of citizens with the following commendatory editorial:

## An Appeal to Reason

"The wretched mob spirit still smoulders. There are those who mutter complainingly at the merciful efforts being made to assuage the grief and suffering of the people who have been deprived of their homes and all earthly possessions. They would 'drive them out forever.' . . .

"To where? In calm reason let this question be answered. Helpless women and babes were roaming the woodlands round about Tulsa for 36 hours. Surrounding towns had reared a barrier of armed guards to keep them out. They were pariahs upon the face of the earth. They had been driven out, and had nowhere to go.

"Standing high above every recognizable fact is this tremendous un-surmountable truth: These people have a right to life, to the pursuit of happiness, and to their earthly possessions. To deny them those rights is to set aside the basic law of the land and deliberately take a keystone from the arch of government in this country.

"Not only that, but they are essential to our economic and industrial life. You cannot drive 10,000 or 12,000 citizens from any community in the world without impairing the commercial and business life of that community. . . .

The Tulsa World in the two above editorials assumed the real Puritan spirit of fairness, but the pity is that even this influential paper was compelled later on to yield this fine spirit to a baser public clamor and abandon the worthy cause it set out to champion—that of raising funds for thousands of homeless people who had lost all earthly possessions as a result of mob hysteria, to which, according to the Tulsa World of June 2, "Here and there good citizens responded."

## The World Changes Front

Later on the Tulsa World joined in with the propagandists in an attempt to shift the responsibility for the riot and massacre to our people and sought to politely excuse that which at first it had bitterly denounced. In line with this new program the grand jury met and indicted 79 of our men for inciting or participating in riot and 19 white men for looting. The white men have all been released with light fines or completely exonerated, while our men are either in jail, out on heavy bond, or have thus far evaded apprehension.

Thousands of people left Tulsa during the riot or shortly following it. Some of these have returned in the hope of profiting by the false spirit of penitence and good intentions of the Tulsa whites to rebuild their homes and business places. In this, however, they were sadly disappointed.

Close on the heels of our people who fled from Tulsa were many substantial white men who did not care longer to invest their money where mobs may with impunity destroy over night a lifetime's accumulation. These white men reasoned, and logically, that if organized bands of outlaws may murder our men, women and children, plunder and destroy their homes and business places as they had done in Tulsa, no such place was entirely safe for white men.

July reports of the Tulsa banks through the Clearing House Association showed that more than \$3,000,000 was withdrawn from these institutions following the riot. This of course had a deteriorating effect on the financial standing of Tulsa. Whether or not this money represented the savings of our people is immaterial. The effect is the same.

The reparation program launched by the Tulsa World now gave place to a destructive program of humiliation and intimidation of our people. Money sent by sympathizers of both races from other states was quite inadequate to meet the situation and the method of using it was questionable until a committee of our men was selected.

## Whites Covet District

It soon developed that the whites were looking upon the burned district with covetous eyes and evil designs. The city commissioners passed an ordinance extending the fire limits so as to include the district, which was in effect a confiscatory act intended to prevent our men from rebuilding their property. This move was heartily approved by the Tulsa Real Estate Association.

Mayor T. D. Evans, who was himself a member of the real estate firm of Hopkins & Evans, was known to favor and had advocated removing the Race district a mile further north in order that the burned district might be used for industrial purposes.

A "reconstruction committee" appointed by Mayor Evans three hours after confirmation by the city commissioners passed a resolution authorizing a general invitation to wholesalers and industrial men of the country to consider Tulsa as a vantage point for the location of industrial plants, having in mind, of course, the burned district. There was also some talk of using this land for a union depot site. Railroad men consulted by real estate representatives raised the question of title and the matter was referred to lawyers for determination.

## Victims Fight Back

Our men, however, did not prove the meek, easy victims that the fathers of this scheme had anticipated. Undaunted by the horrors of the recent "race war" which had left them only the ruins and ashes of what was once imposing brick structures, these men went into the white man's courts to test the validity of what was now plainly a scheme to rob them of all that was left them by the murderers and vandals who composed the mob. If the city officials did not take an active part in the destructive work of the mob during the riot and massacre they were certainly taking a leading part now in completing that destruction by fostering this scheme. But sometimes men get justice, even in Oklahoma.

The case was tried before Judge W. B. Williams in the superior court of Tulsa county, an able jurist whose

high sense of honor and fairness was clearly demonstrated in his decision which favored our men. As a result of this decision white men were forced to give up their pet scheme and those of our men who were able immediately began a reconstruction program of their own. Many new buildings have been erected and more are under construction. "Colored" Tulsa is slowly coming back.

But it will be many years before Tulsa fully recovers from the baneful effects of her madness, if indeed she ever does. A lawless mob left to its own beastly passion may destroy more in a night than a whole generation can rebuild in a lifetime.

While some few are rebuilding their homes and business places with their own money or money obtained outside of Tulsa (because there is a tacit understanding among those who control the money in Tulsa that no financial assistance will be given our men with which to rebuild their property in the business district of the burned area) yet there are thousands who are not so fortunate. Hundreds of huts now stand where comfortable homes stood before June 1 and in these huts thousands of women and children, "black in color, to be sure, but guilty of no other offense," are now huddling closely together from the ravages of the weather, a little less tolerable, perhaps, than the cold indifference of their white brothers and sisters who recently paid the Rev. Billy Sunday \$17,000 for preaching their sins away.

## Would Abate Suffering

Thus the history of the nation's most destructive "race war" is written. Hundreds of lives lost and millions in property destroyed. Innocent men and women whose only offense, according to the white man's own words, was their color, driven from their homes and made pariahs on the face of the earth. Vandals and murderers rule supreme in a raging torrent of mob hysteria; innocent little babes made motherless, devoted wives left widows, and children by the score made fatherless at the hands of an infuriated mob composed of men who boast of their inherent superiority. All of this in proud America which leads the world in ideals of democracy.

In the wake, above the din of a one-sided battle with machine guns and the roar of flames, above the cannonading sounds of explosives dropped from airplanes, which still lingers in the minds of many of these poor people, comes the heart-rending cry of suffering women and children begging for clothes and food to sustain life—pleading for justice!

But their cries evidently die in the distance before reaching the law-making body of our country, where a few days ago the solons were debating the constitutionality of a bill which, if enacted, would make effective the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. Surely, Justice sleeps while Injustice runs amuck!

To all of which some 12,000,000 citizens of America together with several millions of fair-minded, justice-loving white people of this country and foreign worlds, are by no means indifferent. They are looking on, waiting, watching and praying for the awakening of the soul of America, and who knows but that some



day this latent force will assert itself and usher in a day of reckoning for the lawless element of our country?

In Tulsa, as in many other parts of our country, the calloused spots of indulgence on the souls of black men have been rubbed off by the friction of race hatred, leaving the raw, bleeding sores of injustices and contumely of a half century's accumulation, and they are now smarting under the sting of a growing national indifference to their cause. Will America awaken?

—N. Y. C. POST

JULY 29, 1922

## Ghost of Riots at Tulsa Is Passing

### Dr. Buckner Says There Is A New Understanding Between Races

### Urban League Secretary Tells of Conditions in Burned Negro Quarter—Blacks Returning

More than a year has passed since that morning of June 1, 1921, when the headlines told of thousands of armed men battling in the streets of Tulsa, Okla., of thirty persons killed and hundreds wounded, of property loss amounting to \$1,500,000, and of a well-to-do negro population in desperate flight from the city with the warning not to return. How, in that year, has Tulsa handled her perplexing race problem? Has the devastated negro quarter been rebuilt? Have the negroes returned, or do they shun the region? These were some of the questions put to George W. Buckner, secretary of the National Urban League, who recently arrived in New York after an investigation of present conditions in the oil metropolis of the Southwest.

Mr. Buckner was in Tulsa at the time of the riots. He returned in July of that year and again in April, 1922. The information which he has gathered indicates an encouraging turn of affairs. He finds many evidences of a new understanding between the whites and negroes there. At least, there is an earnest effort toward it, and one of the causes of the riots was the fact that nobody in Tulsa had ever taken the slightest trouble to create such an understanding.

A new class of negroes is coming into the burned section. They are not the transients and hoodlums of old, but stable families who intend to make their homes there. The houses of vice, patronized by whites and negroes alike, and often conducted by white proprietors in the negro section, have not been rebuilt. Mr. Buckner believes that Tulsa's principal vice quarter was wiped out by the great fire that accompanied the riots and that the new spirit in the

city will not permit it to reappear. Its destruction was not a purpose of the riot, of course, but proved to be one of the good effects of a bad cause.

It is the aim of the National Urban League, of which Mr. Buckner was the representative in his Tulsa investigation, to act as a sort of ambassador between the colored and white races as they dwell together in large cities. A branch of the organization, which is twelve years old and has its headquarters at 127 East Twenty-third Street, will soon be established in Tulsa. Its membership is mixed.

"I did not realize," said one of Tulsa's well known ministers to Mr. Buckner after the riots, "that I was living on a volcano. None of us did." He and many other prominent white citizens to whom the investigator talked felt keenly the disgrace of the outbreak and are determined that the conditions which produced it shall not be allowed to grow up again.

Less has been accomplished practically than spiritually. The whole negro quarter still wears a devastated look. Not one of the houses which have been built there since June, 1921, Mr. Buckner said, has been completed. The reason he gave for this is that the negroes find it impossible to obtain

capital, labor or materials except at extortionate rates. The expansion of the city has made property in their section very valuable, and there is competition to obtain it, since it is expected to be worth even more in the future. Mr. Buckner states that three days after the riots local real estate operators began announcing to "prospects" what this and that portion of the burned quarter were to be like under the new white development.

The city of Tulsa doubled its population in four years, and in fifteen years it went from 18,000 to 80,000. Of these about 10,000 were negroes. Approximately 6,000 of them left the city as a result of the riots. But in the past year at least 3,600 have returned, so there are now about 7,000 negroes there.

They were drawn back by the excellent wages paid there. Nowhere else in all the Southwest, Mr. Buckner said, were conditions of labor so attractive. Domestic service pays very well among Tulsa's many millionaires. Before the riots common labor brought from \$6 to \$8 a day. Many of the negroes, even of the undesirable classes, who were driven out by the riots were wealthy. Nevertheless, he finds they had did not survive that period of distress and its losses, nor would it have met the high prices exacted from returning negroes now.

One negro who operated theatres in three towns wished to rebuild his Tulsa theatre, and borrowed \$25,000 for the purpose. But the theatre, that sum having been spent on it, stands unfinished. According to the new price schedules \$25,000 was not enough.

Some of the negroes, however, have been able to negotiate loans without security, merely on good reputation, or the prospect of prosperity.

Mr. Buckner, who also did social work for the league in East St. Louis after the riot there, arrived in Tulsa six days after the tragedy, when martial law was in force and negroes were obliged to have a card in order to pass out of the colored section.

"The negroes of Tulsa had developed

a super-sense of race pride," he explained. "They felt that they could well live apart from the whites. The prosperity of business and the laxity of law enforcement encouraged the multiplication of places of vice, and in such houses the two races had their only common ground. The better classes never met. You go your way and I'll go mine—that was the spirit of Tulsa until the riots came.

"But the civic conscience of the intelligent and liberal residents was sharply pricked by that outrage. They realized that such a relationship between the races could not be anything else but dangerous and degrading. Four white organizations—the Ministerial Alliance, the Chamber of Commerce, the Commission on Racial Relations, and the Women's Federation—began to work for an improvement.

Matters were helped by the elections and installing of a new party in power on April 1, 1922. The first meeting of both races to plan for the future took place a week after the riot. There were six colored men and eight white men present. Never before had an inter-racial meeting been held in Tulsa."

The negro Baptist Church in Tulsa was demolished during the fighting but now there are three new "subway churches" (built up to a height of one story) in the negro section. Several blocks on Greenwood Avenue—the negro Broadway of Tulsa—have been rebuilt with far better houses than before, with "white capital" loaned at high rates. But it is still a sorry sight, says Mr. Buckner, to see the \$1,500,000 worth of property that was destroyed principally replaced by shacks.

Nobody, white or colored, has yet been sent to the penitentiary for participation in the Tulsa riots.

"It was a striking fact, all through the fighting and burning, that the houses in the colored district owned by whites were not touched, even though inhabited by negroes," said Mr. Buckner. "They are standing there still, in solitary security. Some owned by negroes whom the whites wished to protect were also spared. The houses of whites which bordered on the negro section were not harmed, nor those of negroes who looked like whites. It was a very carefully planned riot."



Riots—1922.

Minnesota.

**DULUTH RIOT CASE  
IN MINNESOTA  
4/13/22  
SUPREME COURT  
Chicago ruling**

DULUTH, Minn., April 15.—The Max Mason case, appealed from the trial at Duluth, was argued orally before the Supreme Court of Minnesota, Wednesday, by Atty. F. L. Barnett of Chicago, representing Max Mason, appellant, and Warren E. Greene, county attorney of Duluth, representing the State.

The case was taken under advisement and an opinion will be rendered later. In his argument, Mr. Barnett contended that the statement of the case by the prosecuting witnesses was wholly insufficient to justify a verdict; that no reasonable identification of Max Mason was shown by the evidence; that Max Mason was indicted after he had been compelled to testify against himself, and that the evidence presented by the state, not only raised a reasonable doubt, but actually proved that no rape had been committed.

Max Mason and five others were indicted for rape alleged to have been committed upon a white woman on a circus ground in Duluth, June, 1920. The result of that charge was the arrest of seventeen men on the morning after the alleged rape. Three of the arrested men were lynched that night with indescribable brutality, and the whole city of Duluth was thrown into riot and turmoil for three days. Thirteen other colored men were held in jail for several days—then seven were discharged by the Grand Jury and six were indicted for rape. In April, 1921, the indicted men were called to trial.



Riots — 1922.

Maryland.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR  
MARCH 31, 1922

**DIES AT REFORMA**

Montell Hammond, colored  
teen years old, inmate of the  
reformatory at Cheltenham,  
at Freedmen's Hospital, was  
a result of a wound he received  
at the reformatory earlier.  
D. Pyles, superintendent of the  
land institution, told

that the boy's skull was fractured  
with an ax by another inmate. Ham-  
mond's body was taken to Cheltenham,  
where an inquest probably will  
be held.



# Riots - 1922

Card no 2

## Illinois

whites, to the end that there shall always the unwritten assumption that the same responsibility for equal consideration of the rights of the one by the other rests on whites and Negroes alike, in respect of the matter involved in the publication: (c) that in consideration of the great ease with which the public is influenced against the whole Negro group by sensational articles and headlines, the press should exercise great caution in dealing with unverified reports of crimes of Negroes against white women and should avoid the designation of racial fights as race riots; (d) that in recognition of the dangers of racial antagonism on the part of the ignorant, of the thinking, and the prejudiced of both races, publication be made, as opportunities offer, of such matters as shall in their character experience in business methods through service in responsible positions in business houses. If such opportunities were made available for them we believe that it would not only be of benefit to Negroes in the development of sounder business methods among them and the building up of their resources, but would also be a gain to the business establishments and the community at large.

"We have found that Negroes are denied equal opportunity with whites for advancement and promotion where they are employed. As a measure of justice we urge that Negroes be employed, advanced and promoted according to their capacities and proved merit. We call to the attention of those concerned the high qualifications of many Negro workers in sleeping-car and dining-car service and recommend that when they deserve it and the opportunity tend to dispel prejudice and promote mutual respect and good will.

### Seek News Achievements.

"We specially recommend more frequent publications concerning: (1) Creditable achievements of consequence by Negroes; (2) their efforts toward a higher cultural and social life, and (3) their improvement of physical conditions of their own communities; (4) the common obligation of all citizens of all races to recognize in their interrelations the supreme duty of strict obedience to the law, in spirit as well as in deed; (5) verification, so far as practicable, of all news concerning Negroes and their activities by reference to recognized Negro agencies or responsible representative Negroes.

"We further recommend the capitalization of the word 'Negro' in racial designation and avoidance of the word 'nigger,' as contemptuous and needlessly provocative.

"To the Negro press we recommend greater care and accuracy in reporting incidents involving whites and Negroes, the abandonment of sensational headlines and articles on racial questions, and more attention to educating Negro readers as to the available means and opportunities of adjusting themselves and their fellows into more harmonious relations with their white neighbors and fellow citizens, and as to the lines of individual conduct and collective effort which will tend to minimize interracial friction, promote their own social and economic development and hasten interracial adjustment."

### Story of the Riot.

Sunday afternoon, July 27, 1919, hundreds of white and Negro bathers crowded the lake front beaches at 26th and 29th streets. This is the eastern boundary of the thickest Negro residence area. At 26th street Negroes were in great majority; at 29th street there were more whites. An imaginary line in the water, separating the two beaches, had been generally observed by the two races. Under the prevailing relations, aided by wild rumors and reports, this line served virtually as a

challenge to either side to cross it. Four Negroes who attempted to enter the water from the "white" side were driven away by the whites. They returned with more Negroes, and there followed a series of attacks with stones, first one side gaining the advantage, then the other.

Eugene Williams, a Negro boy of 17, entered the water from the side used by Negroes and drifted across the line supported by a railroad tie. He was observed by the crowd on the beach and promptly became a target for stones. He suddenly released the tie, went down and drowned. Guilt was immediately placed on Stauber, a young white man, by Negro witnesses who declared that he threw the fatal stone.

White and Negro men dived for the boy without result. Negroes demanded that the policeman present arrest Stauber. He refused; and at this crucial moment arrested a Negro on a white man's complaint. Negroes then attacked the officer. These two facts, the drowning and the refusal of the policeman to arrest Stauber, together marked the beginning of the riot.

Two hours after the drowning, a Negro, James Crawford, fired into a group of officers summoned by the policeman at the beach, and was killed by a Negro policeman. Reports and rumors circulated rapidly, and new crowds began to gather. Five white men were injured in clashes near the beach. As darkness came Negroes in white districts to the west suffered severely. Between 9 p. m. and 3 a. m. 27 Negroes were beaten, seven stabbed and four shot. Monday morning was quiet and Negroes went to work as usual.

Returning from work in the afternoon many Negroes were attacked by white ruffians. Street car routes, especially at transfer points, were the centers of lawlessness. Trolleys were pulled from the wires, and Negro passengers were dragged into the street, beaten, stabbed and shot. The police were powerless to cope with these numerous assaults. During Monday, four Negro men and one white assailant were killed, and 30 Negroes were severely beaten in street car clashes. Four white men were killed, six stabbed, five shot and nine severely beaten. It was rumored that the white occupants of the Augsburg building at 35th street and Wabash avenue had shot a Negro. Negroes gathered about the building. The white tenants sought police protection, and 100 policemen mounted and on foot, responded. In a clash with the mob the police killed four Negroes and injured many.

### Raiding Parties.

Raids into the Negro residence area then began. Automobiles sped through the streets, the occupants shooting at random. Negroes retaliated by "sniping" from ambush. At midnight surface and elevated car service was discontinued because of a strike for wage increases, and thousands of employees were cut off from work.

On Tuesday, July 29, Negro men en route on foot to their jobs through hostile territory were killed. White soldiers and sailors in uniform, aided by civilians, raided the "Loop" business section, killing two Negroes and beating and robbing several others. Negroes living among white neighbors in Englewood, far to the south, were driven from their homes, their household goods were stolen and their houses were burned and wrecked. On the West Side an Italian mob, excited by a false rumor that an Italian girl had been shot by a Negro, killed Joseph Lovings, a Negro.

Wednesday night at 10:30 Mayor Thompson yielded to pressure and asked the help of the three regiments of militia which had been stationed in nearby armories during the most severe rioting, awaiting the call. They immediately took up positions throughout the South Side. A rainfall Wednesday night and Thursday kept many people in their homes, and by Friday the riot-

ing had abated. On Saturday incendiary fires burned 49 houses in the immigrant neighborhood west of the Stock Yards. Nine hundred and forty-eight people, mostly Lithuanians, were made homeless, and the property loss was about \$250,000. Responsibility for the fires was never fixed.

The total casualties of this reign of terror were 38 deaths—15 white, 23 Negro—and 537 people injured. Forty-one per cent of the reported clashes occurred in the white neighborhood near the Stock Yards, between the south branch of the Chicago river and 55th street, Wentworth avenue and the city limits, and 34 per cent in the "black belt," between 22d and 39th streets, Wentworth avenue and Lake Michigan. Others were scattered.

Responsibility for many attacks was definitely placed by many witnesses upon the "athletic clubs," including "Ragen's Colts," the "Hamburgers," "Aylwards," "Our Flag," the "Stan-dard," the "Sparklers" and several others. The mobs were made up for the most part of boys between 15 and 22. Older persons participated, but the youth of the rioters was conspicuous in every clash. Little children witnessed the brutalities and frequently pointed out the injured when the police arrived.

### Rumors and the Riot

Wild rumors were in circulation by word of mouth and in the press throughout the riot and provoked many clashes. These included stories of atrocities committed by one race against the other. Reports of the numbers of white and Negro dead tended to produce a feeling that the score must be kept even. Newspaper reports, for example, showed 6 per cent more whites injured than Negroes. As a matter of fact, there were 28 per cent more Negroes injured than whites. The Chicago Tribune on July 29 reported 20 persons killed, of whom 13 were white and 7 colored. The true figures were exactly the opposite.

Among the rumors provoking fear were numerous references to the arming of Negroes. In the Daily News of July 30, for example, appeared the subheadline: "Alderman Joseph McDonough tells how he was shot at on South Side visit. Says enough ammunition in section to last for years of guerrilla warfare." In the article following, the reference to ammunition was repeated, but not elaborated or explained.

The alderman was quoted as saying that the mayor contemplated opening up 35th and 47th streets in order that colored people might get to their work. He thought this would be most unwise for, he stated, "They are armed and white people are not. We must defend ourselves if the city authorities won't protect us." Continuing his story, he described bombs going off: "I saw white men and women running through the streets dragging children by the hands and carrying babies in their arms. Frightened white men told me the police captains had just rushed through the district crying, 'For God's sake, arm; they are coming; we cannot hold them.'"

Whether or not the alderman was correctly quoted, the effect of such statements on the public was the same. There is no record in any of the riot testimony in the coroner's office or state's attorney's office of any bombs going off during the riot, nor of police captains warning the white people to arm, nor of any fear by whites of a Negro invasion. In the Berger Odman case before a coroner's jury there is a statement to the effect that a sergeant of police warned the Negroes of Ogden Park to arm and to shoot at the feet of rioters if they attempted to invade the few blocks marked off for Negroes by the police. Negroes were warned, not whites.

### Conduct of the Police.

Chief of Police John J. Garrity, in explaining the inability of the police

to curb the rioters, said that there was not a sufficient force to police one-third of the city. Aside from this, Negroes distrusted the white police officers, and there was implied by the chief and stated by State's Attorney Hoyne, that many of the police were "grossly unfair in making arrests." There were instances of actual police participation in the rioting as well as neglect of duty. Of 229 persons arrested and accused of various criminal activities during the riot, 154 were Negroes and 75 were whites. Of those indicted, 81 were Negroes and 47 were whites. Although this, on its face, would indicate great riot activity on the part of Negroes, further reports of clashes show that 520 persons injured, 342 were Negroes and 178 were whites. The fact that twice as many Negroes appeared as defendants and twice as many Negroes as whites were injured, leads to the conclusion that whites were not apprehended as readily as Negroes.

Many of the depredations outside the "Black Belt" were encouraged by the absence of policemen. Out of a force of 3,000 police, 2,800 were massed in the "Black Belt" during the height of the rioting. In the "loop" district where two Negroes were killed and several others wounded, there were only three policemen and one sergeant. The stock yards district, where the greatest number of injuries occurred, was also weakly protected.

### The Militia.

Although Governor Lowden had ordered the militia into the city promptly and they were on hand on the second day of the rioting, their services were not requested by the mayor and chief of police until the evening of the fourth day. The reason expressed by the chief for this delay was a belief that inexperienced militiamen would add to the deaths and disorder. But the troops, when called, proved to be clearly of high character, and their discipline was good, not a case of breach of discipline being reported during their occupation. They were distributed more proportionately through all the riotous areas than the police and, although they reported some hostility from members of "athletic clubs," the rioting soon ceased.

Throughout the rioting various social organizations and many citizens were at work to hold hostilities in check and to restore order. The Chicago Urban League, Wabash Avenue Y. M. C. A., American Red Cross and various other social organizations and the churches of the Negro community gave attention to caring for stranded Negroes, advising them of dangers, keeping them off the streets and, in such ways as were possible, co-operating with the police. The packing companies took their pay to Negro employees, and various banks made loans. Local newspapers in their editorial columns insistently condemned the disorder and counseled calmness.

### The Aftermath.

Of the 38 persons killed in the riot: Fifteen met death at the hands of mobs. Coroner's juries recommended that the members of the unknown mobs be apprehended. They were never found.

Six were killed in circumstances fixing no criminal responsibility; three white men were killed by Negroes in self-defense, and three Negroes were shot by policemen in the discharge of their duty.

Four Negroes were killed in the Angelus riot. The coroner made no recommendations, and the cases were not carried farther.

Four cases, two Negroes and two white, developed recommendations from coroner's juries for further investigation of certain persons. Sufficient evidence was lacking for indictments against them.

Nine cases led to indictments. Of this number four cases resulted in convictions. Thus in only four cases of death was criminal responsibility fixed and punishment meted out.

Indictments and convictions, divided according to the race of the persons

criminally involved, were as follows: Indictments: Negro—Six cases, 17 persons. White—Three cases, four persons.

Convictions: Negro—Two cases, three persons. White—two cases, two persons.

Despite the community's failure to deal firmly with those who disturbed its peace and contributed to the reign of lawlessness that shamed Chicago before the world, there is evidence that the riot aroused citizens of both races to a quickened sense of the suffering and disgrace which had come and might again come to the city, and developed a determination to prevent a recurrence of so disastrous an outbreak of race hatred. This was manifest on at least three occasions in 1920 when, confronted suddenly with events out of which serious riots might easily have grown, people of both races acted with such courage and promptness as to end the trouble early. One of these was the murder of two innocent white men and the wounding of a Negro policeman by a band of Negro fanatics who styled themselves "Abyssinians"; another was the killing of a white man by a Negro whom he had attacked while returning from work; and still another was the riotous attacks of sailors from the Great Lakes Naval Training station on Negroes in Waukegan, Ill.

### Features of the Riot

This study of the facts of the riot of 1919, the events as they happened hour by hour, the neighborhoods involved, the movements of mobs, the part played by rumors and the handling of the emergency by the various authorities, shows certain outstanding features which may be listed as follows:

(a) The riot violence was not continuous hour by hour, but was intermittent.

(b) The greatest number of injuries occurred in the district west and inclusive of Wentworth avenue and south of the south branch of the Chicago river to 55th street, or in the Stock Yards district. The next greatest number occurred in the so-called "black belt": 22d to 39th streets, inclusive, and Wentworth avenue to the lake, exclusive of Wentworth avenue; 39th to 55th streets, inclusive, and Clark street to Michigan avenue, exclusive of Michigan avenue.

(c) Organized raids occurred only after a period of sporadic clashes and spontaneous mob outbreaks.

(d) Main thoroughfares witnessed 76 per cent of the injuries on the South Side. The streets which suffered most severely were State, Halsted, 31st, 35th and 47th. Transfer corners were always centers of disturbances.

(e) Most of the rioting occurred after work hours among idle crowds on the streets. This was particularly true after the street car strike began.

(f) Gangs, particularly of young whites, formed definite nuclei for crowd and mob formation. "Athletic clubs" supplied the leaders of many gangs.

(g) Crowds and mobs engaged in rioting were generally composed of a small nucleus of leaders and an acquiescing mass of spectators. The leaders were mostly men, usually between the ages of 16 and 21. Dispersal was most effectively accomplished by sudden, unexpected gun fire.

(h) Rumor kept the crowds in an excited, potential mob state. The press was responsible for giving wide dissemination to much of the inflammatory matter in spoken rumors, though editorials calculated to allay race hatred and help the forces of order were factors in the restoration of peace.

(i) The police lacked sufficient forces for handling the riot; they were hampered by the Negroes' distrust of them; routing orders and records were not handled with proper care; certain officers were undoubtedly unsuited to police or riot duty.

(j) The militiamen employed in this riot were of an unusually high type. This unquestionably accounts for the confidence placed in them by both



racers. Riot training, definite orders and good staff work contributed to their efficiency.

(k) There was a lack of energetic co-operation between the police department and the state's attorney's office in the discovery and conviction of rioters.

The riot was merely a symptom of serious and profound disorders lying beneath the surface of race relations in Chicago. The study of the riot, therefore, as to its interlocking provocations and causes, required a study of general race relations that made possible so serious and sudden an outbreak. Thus to understand the riot and guard against another, the commission probed systematically into the principal phases of race contact and sought accurate information on matters which in the past have been influenced by dangerous speculation; and on the basis of its discoveries certain suggestions to the community are made.

#### Conclusions.

The inquiries of this commission into racial sentiments which characterize the opinions and behavior of white persons toward Negroes lead us to the following conclusions:

That in seeking advice and information about Negroes, white persons almost without exception fail to select for their informants Negroes who are representative and can provide dependable information.

That Negroes as a group are often judged by the manners, conduct and opinions of servants in families, or other Negroes whose general standing and training do not qualify them to be spokesmen of the group.

That the principal literature regarding Negroes is based upon traditional opinions and does not always portray accurately the present status of the group.

Most of the current beliefs concerning Negroes are traditional, and were acquired during an earlier period when Negroes were considerably less intelligent and responsible than now. Failure to change these opinions, in spite of the great progress of the Negro group, increases misunderstandings and the difficulties of mutual adjustment.

That the common disposition to regard all Negroes as belonging to one homogeneous group is as great a mistake as to assume that all white persons are of the same class and kind.

That much of the current literature and pseudo-scientific treatises concerning Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as: that Negroes have inferior mentality; that Negroes have inferior morality; that Negroes are given to emotionalism; that Negroes have an innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes.

We believe that such deviations from recognized standards as have been apparent among Negroes are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits. We urge especially upon white persons to exert their efforts toward discrediting stories and standing beliefs concerning Negroes which have no basis in fact, but which constantly serve to keep alive a spirit of mutual fear, distrust and opposition.

That much of the literature and scientific treatises concerning the Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as that Negroes are capable of mental and moral development only to an inferior degree, are given to an uncontrolled emotionalism, and have a distinctive innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes.

#### Scissored

#### LESSONS FROM THE CHICAGO RIOT

10/14/27 Norfolk, Va.  
The Chicago race riots of three years ago, which resulted in deaths of thirty-eight persons at

injuries to more than five hundred, led to probably the most comprehensive study of the urban race problem that has yet been undertaken. The report of a committee of twelve—six from each race—appointed by Governor Lowden, has just been published, and the findings deserve careful study, for in its inquiry into the Chicago situation the committee addressed itself to a problem that, in one form or another, confronts every city in the United States.

In Chicago the problem came to a head when the World War brought on a hegira of Negroes from the South to the industrial centers of the North, where they saw visions of greater pay and greater personal freedom. Not only Chicago, but St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland and other centers were suddenly brought face to face with the task of caring for these immigrants from South of the Ohio and the Potomac. Chicago's Negro population in 1910 constituted but two per cent of the total; ten years later it had grown to over four per cent. With this growth came an expansion of Negro residential areas and a greater intermingling between the races. From these ill-adjusted contacts grew the shameful series of outrages that set apart the Chicago riots of 1919 from all the race riots that preceded or followed.

With the committee's recommendations, in the main, the best Southern opinion cannot fail to be in accord. Recognizing the importance of housing in dealing with the race problem, it advocates more stringent sanitary regulations, and the condemnation of houses unfit for self-respectful human habitation. Of this type of housing the cities of the South have their full share. While the expansion of Negro residential districts will always be a matter of concern, the problem can be met by the adoption of practical programs, through the co-operation of banks, real estate men and business organizations of both races. The committee recommends, among other things, the promulgation of sound racial doctrines, and discourages the formation among both races of societies that foster race antagonism. The appositeness of this plea of advise should nowhere be better appreciated than in those sections of the South where sheeted and masked organizations have come into being seemingly for the purpose of keeping racial contacts raw.

With a few of the committee's recommendations the Southern States, at least, must remain at variance. The South cannot subscribe to the committee's denunciation of segregation as "impractical and certain to accentuate friction." Nor can it believe that as far as the South is concerned, intermingling in restaurants and theaters will help to preserve the harmonious relations that leaders of both races seek to realize. But the few points of difference do not bar the South from approving the thoroughness with which the twelve Chicagoans went into a difficult matter and the soundness of the main body of

conclusions which resulted from their investigation.—*Virginian-Pilot*.

#### FAIR PLAY FOR THE NEGRO.

The report of the Commission on Racial Relations appointed by Governor LOWDEN of Illinois soon after the Chicago race riot in July of 1919 has just been made public. It is of national value, and not merely of local application in its findings. It discusses in a

thorough way what it calls "our most grave and perplexing domestic problem," the relation of whites and negroes. The commission, under the Chairmanship of EDGAR A. BANCROFT, consisted of six white members, among whom were VICTOR LAWSON, JULIUS ROSENWALD, Professor FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON of the University of Chicago and six negroes. The volume (published by the University of Chicago Press) which embodies the results of their study of the problem presents not only a new and comprehensive view of the racial situation in America but also specific suggestions as to what the local governments, the principals and teachers in the schools, the social agencies, the labor unions, the employers of labor, the street car companies and, finally though not least of all, the press ought to do.

The problem cannot be dismissed. The deportation of negroes, the establishment of a negro State, complete segregation—such proposals or hopes are vain. The solution must be "in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions." The story of the particular episode which led to the appointment of this commission, with the pictures which illustrate that story, is one that must bring shame to every American reader. But if it deepens the sense of obligation to assist in bettering conditions, public confession will be good for our civic soul. The recommendations of the report all have their basis in the conviction that such lapses as have been apparent among negroes "are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits." If the public is brought to share this conviction with the commission, we shall have gone a long way toward doing the right thing by the twelve million negroes in America.

Governor LOWDEN urged strongly the creation of a permanent commission on race relations for Chicago. It is promising that in two-thirds of the

counties in thirteen Southern States inter-racial commissions now exist to promote justice and good-will between black and white. GEORGE MADDEN MARTIN, a Southern woman and author of the "Emmy Lou" stories, hopefully recounts in McClure's for October the progress of this movement undertaken by white people who live in the South. If, as "Marse HENRY" said, the negro is "God's shadow on the dial of progress," such reports suggest that we are really making an advance.

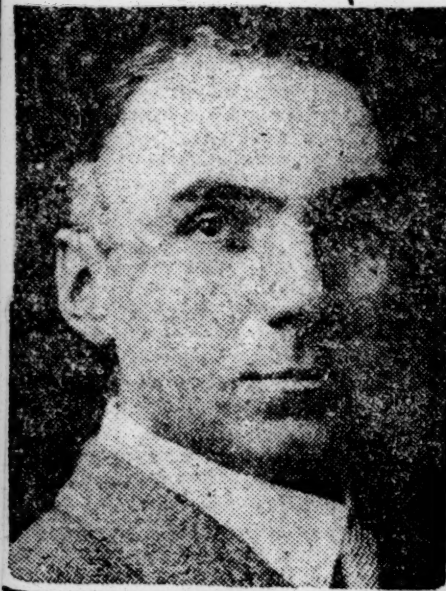
#### JURY AWARDS DAMAGES TO VICTIM IN CHICAGO RIOT

A jury in the Circuit court of Cook county, presided over by Judge Oscar M. Torrison, returned a verdict last Thursday in favor of Samuel Steele, 4105 South Dearborn street, in his case against the City of Chicago in the sum of \$388.50.

Steele, a hodcarrier, through his attorney, William J. Latham, filed suit against the city to recover damages for destruction of his household goods by mobs during the race riots in July, 1919.

Steele's home, then 346 Swan street, was attacked by a mob, and he and his family escaped by aid of police officers. When the riot was over and he returned home, he found that his house had been looted by rioters. Attorney Latham contended that it was the duty of the city to protect his property, and failing to do so, was liable in damages for such destruction.





Members of the race commission appointed by ex-Gov. Frank O. Lowden, who are responsible for report on the Chicago riot of 1919. Reading left to right: Adelbert H. Roberts, legislator; Victor F. Lawson, editor and publisher Chicago Daily News; George C. Hall, physician and surgeon; Harry E. Kelly, attorney; L. K. Williams, minister; Edward O. Brown, attorney. Second row, left to right: George H. Jackson, real estate agent; Edgar A. Bancroft, attorney, and chairman of commission; Robert S. Abbott, editor and publisher Chicago Defender; Francis W. Shepardson, educator, and vice-chairman of commission. Bottom row, left to right: William Scott Bond, real estate agent; Julius Rosenwald, merchant.

## Commission in Epoch Making Report Condemns White Man's Method of Advancing Civilization

circumstances to sit down with Colored men of equal character and ability to study this question they come out of the baptism of fire as converts to our cause and point of view.

There is no disposition on the part of this body to evade or equivocate. They call a spade a spade and give the basis of their judgments without fear of whom it may offend. True, they found no magic formula for ideal solutions, but they did find what so many of us knew they could find if they looked carefully enough—namely, that the same kind of intelligent sense of fairness and common sense, less a lot of loose, thoughtless repetition of erroneous, outworn theories and bombastic opinion, applied to the question of white and Colored people living together will bring about peace and harmony as it will in any other delicate and important situation or problem.

The commission began its work in October, 1919. Governor Lowden appointed the body following the riot of the July previous, which resulted in thirty-eight deaths, fifteen white and twenty-three Colored, and 537 people injured. The report is a good one. The commission deserves high praise for finishing so difficult a task so thoroughly. A word of special praise ought to be said for those public-spirited citizens who financed the work of this body when the legislature failed to provide means for doing the work assigned to it. The commission has done well to give these citizens credit in its report. The commission consisted of:

Edgar A. Bancroft, chairman.  
Francis W. Shepardson, vice-chairman.  
Robert S. Abbott.  
William Scott Bond.  
Edward O. Brown.  
George C. Hall.  
George H. Jackson.  
Harry E. Kelly.  
Victor F. Lawson.  
Edward H. Morris.  
Adelbert H. Roberts.  
Julius Rosenwald.  
L. K. Williams.

The commission makes fifty-nine recommendations after sifting and studying a mass of data which is astounding to contemplate. The report itself consists of 650 pages and is very exhaustive. This report is undoubtedly epoch-making in its scope, thoroughness and temper in this field. Because of its thoroughness it will reflect those conditions which exist in any Northern city or urban community where white people live with a large Colored population. It is well worth while studying by all people who want to know and understand problems affecting so many human beings and their future happiness and usefulness to society in this country.

### Lowden's Foreword

Governor Lowden says:  
There is no domestic problem in America which has given thoughtful men more concern than the problem of the relations between the white and the Negro races. In earlier days the colonization of the Negro, as in Liberia, was put forward as a solution. That idea was abandoned long ago. It is now recognized generally that the two races are here in America to stay.

It is also certain that the problem

will not be solved by methods of violence. Every race riot, every instance in which men of either race defy legal authority and take the law into their own hands, but postpones the day when the two races shall live together amicably. The law must be maintained and enforced vigorously and completely before any real progress can be made toward better race relations.

Means must be found, therefore, whereby the two races can live together on terms of amity. This will be possible only if the two races are brought to understand each other better. It is believed that such understanding will result in each having a higher degree of respect for the other, and that such respect will form the basis for greatly improved relations between the races.

The commission on race relations, composed of distinguished representatives of both races, has made the most thorough and complete survey of the race situation that I have seen anywhere.

The report does not pretend to have discovered any new formula by which all race trouble will disappear. The subject is too complex for any such simple solution. It finds certain facts, however, the mere recognition of which will go a long way toward allaying race feeling. It finds that in that portion of Chicago in which Colored persons have lived longest and in the largest numbers relatively there has been the minimum of friction. This is a fact of the first importance, for it tends to show that the presence of Negroes in large numbers in our great cities is not a menace in itself.

The commission prefaces its recommendations with this statement:

Each member of this commission feels that he has more understanding and less prejudice than before its work begun. Therefore we recommend the thoughtful examination of the body of this report, so that all who read our recommendations may weigh for themselves the evidence upon which they are based.

Having in mind the basic facts in the problem of race relations and the conclusions from a careful study of its inquiry into the various phases of these relations in Chicago, as above stated, the commission presents the following recommendations and suggestions for the consideration and action of state and local authorities, and of the social agencies and citizens of Chicago:

### Prompt Police Action

"We recommend that the police and militia work out, at the earliest possible date, a detailed plan for joint action in the control of race riots.

"In accordance with such a plan, and in event of race rioting, we specifically recommend: (a) that the militia, white and Negro, be promptly mobilized at the beginning of the outbreak; (b) that police and deputy sheriffs and militia, white and Negro, be so distributed as adequately to protect both races in white and Negro neighborhoods and to avoid the gross inequalities of protection which, in the riot of 1919, permitted widespread depredations, including murder, against Negroes in white neighborhoods, and attacks in Negro neighborhoods by invading white hoodlums; (c) that the police and militia be stationed with special reference to main street car lines and transfer points used by Negroes in getting to and from work; (d) that substantial assurance be given of adequate and equal protection by all agencies of law enforcement, thus removing the incentive to arm in

self defense; (e) that in the appointment of special peace officers there shall be no discrimination against Negroes; (f) that all rioters, white and Negro, be arrested without race discrimination; (g) that all reports and complaints of neglect of duty or participation in rioting by police, deputy sheriffs, or militia be promptly investigated and the offenders promptly punished; (h) that all persons arrested in connection with rioting be systematically booked on distinct charges showing such connection, in order to avoid the confusion and evasions of justice following the riot of 1919.

"We recommend that, without regard to color, all persons arrested in connection with rioting be promptly tried and the guilty speedily punished.

### Suppression of Bombings

"We recommend prompt and vigorous action by the police, state's attorney and courts to suppress the bombings of Negro and white houses, these acts being criminal and likely to provoke race rioting.

"The testimony of court officials before the commission and its investigations indicate that Negroes are more commonly arrested, subjected to police identification, and convicted than white offenders, that on similar evidence they are generally held and convicted on more serious charges, and that they are given longer sentences. We point out that these practices and tendencies are not only unfair to Negroes, but weaken the machinery of justice and, when taken with a greater inability of Negroes to pay fines in addition to or in lieu of terms in jail, produce misleading statistics of Negro crime. We recognize that these practices and tendencies are in a large degree the unconscious results of traditional race prejudice. We recommend to the police, state's attorney, judges and juries that they consider these conditions in the effort to deal fairly (and without discrimination) with all persons charged with crime.

"We recommend, that in order to encourage respect for law both by Negroes and whites, the courts discountenance the facetiousness which is too common in dealing with cases in which Negroes are involved.

"We recommend that the police, state's attorney and other authorities promptly rid the Negro residence areas of vice resorts, whose present exceptional prevalence in such areas is due to official laxity.

"We recommend better co-operation between the city and park police in and near parks, bathing beaches and other public recreation places, especially where there has been or is likely to be race friction; and in the speedy punishment of persons guilty of stoning houses, molesting individuals, or committing other depredations calculated to arouse race antagonism.

"We recommend that the police pay particular and continuous attention to the so-called 'athletic clubs' on the South Side, which we have found to be a fruitful source of race conflict, and that when race conflict arises or is imminent the members and meeting places of such clubs be searched for arms and that, if deemed necessary, such clubs be closed.

"We commend the police for the prompt and effective action in the Barrett murder case, Sept. 20, 1920, which allayed public alarm and averted a serious clash."

### Curb Firearms, Plea

Following are recommendations to the city council and administrative boards, the park boards and the municipal bureau of parks, playgrounds and bathing beaches:

"We recommend that the most stringent means possible be applied to control the importation, sale and possession of firearms and other deadly weapons.

"In order to facilitate police supervision of so-called 'athletic clubs' we recommend that all such clubs be required to file with the city clerk statements of their purposes and, at stated



intervals, lists of members and officers, with their addresses.

"We recommend that the authorities exercise their powers to condemn and raze all houses unfit for human habitation, many of which the commission has found to exist in the Negro residence areas on the South and West sides.

"We recommend better enforcement of health and sanitary laws and regulations in the care, repair and upkeep of streets and alleys and the collection and disposal of rubbish and garbage in areas of Negro residence, where the commission has found these matters to be shamefully neglected.

"We recommend that the park and other proper authorities (a) put an end to the present gross discrimination by white persons which practically bars Negroes out of certain recreation centers near their own congested residence area; and (b) that a recreation center of adequate size and facilities be established for the use of both whites and Negroes in the principal Negro residence areas of the South side; and (c) that steps be taken to secure more adequately trained, competent and intelligent playground and recreation center directors, white and Negro, who shall be held responsible for racial clashes arising in places under their direction and shall be required to interest themselves in reducing and avoiding racial friction in their neighborhoods; and (d) that proper equipment and supervision be provided at the 26th street bathing beach, where they are now almost wholly lacking; and (e) that, in co-operation with the city police, the park police adequately protect all citizens, without regard to color, in going to and from parks, recreation centers and playgrounds."

#### Relieve School Crowding, Plea.

Recommendations as follows are made to the board of education:

"We recommend that in the areas where the main part of the Negro population lives, and where elementary school accommodations are notably deficient, buildings, equipment and teaching forces be provided which shall be at least equal to the average standard for the city, in order that the present conditions of overcrowding, arrangement of pupils in shifts and the assignment of too large classes to teachers may be remedied.

"We recommend the establishment of night schools and community centers in sections of the city not now adequately provided with such facilities.

"Having found that many Negro children who quit school at an early age, as in the case of similar white children, appear later as criminals and delinquents, we urge strict enforcement of regulations as to working permits for such children, and we especially recommend that truant officers give attention to school attendance by the children of Negro families migrating here from the South.

"Since the attitude of principals and teachers vitally influences the relations of white and Negro children in the public schools, we recommend that special care be exercised in appointing principals and teachers who have a sympathetic and intelligent interest in promoting good race relations in the schools.

"We recommend that public school principals and teachers encourage participation by children of both races in student activities as a means of promoting mutual understanding and good race relations in such schools and in the community."

#### Dispel False Race Notions.

These are recommendations to social and civic organizations, labor unions and churches:

"Being convinced by our inquiry that much of the antagonism evinced in the areas of marked hostility toward Negroes is founded upon tradition which is itself without foundation in fact or justice, we recommend to schools, social centers and agencies, churches, labor unions and other organizations in these areas, and to public-spirited citizens, white and Negro, that they endeavor to dispel the false notions of each race about the other and promote

mutual tolerance and friendliness between them.

"We recommend that both white and Negro churches seek and use means to improve race relations and that these means include the finding of frequent occasion for having their congregation addressed by representatives of both races on the subject of race sympathy and tolerance.

"We commend the course of such agencies as the United Charities, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society and American Red Cross in extending their work to the Negro community, and recommend that other agencies whose work is similarly useful extend their work in like manner.

"Recognizing and commending the practical efforts of the Woman's City Club in promoting better race relations, especially in the summer of 1920, when racial friction was deemed imminent, we recommend that other organizations of the same kind undertake like activities.

"We recommend that the appropriate social agencies give needed attention to dealing extra-judicially with cases of Negroes coming before the Moral and Juvenile courts; also to cases of Negro children dropping out of school too early in age.

"We recommend that Negroes, as well as whites, be given opportunity for training for service in the city's public recreation facilities."

#### Responsibility to Public

To the public the commission gives this advice:

"We are convinced in our inquiry (a) That measures involving or approaching deportation or segregation are illegal, impracticable and cannot solve, but would accentuate, the race problem and postpone its just and orderly solution by the process of adjustment; (b) that the moral responsibility for race rioting does not rest upon hoodlums alone, but also upon all citizens, white or black, who sanction force or violence in interracial relations or such a manner as to make their home and building and home owning investments a more desirable risk than has heretofore been generally supposed. We therefore are largely due to the fact that each race too readily misunderstands and misinterprets the other's conduct and aspirations.

"We therefore urge upon all citizens, white and Negro, active opposition to the employment of force or violence in interracial relations and to the spirit of antagonism and hatred. We recommend dispassionate, intelligent, and sympathetic consideration by each of the other's needs and aims; we also recommend the dissemination of proved or trustworthy information about all phases of race relations as a useful means toward effecting peaceful racial adjustment.

"Since rumor, usually groundless, is a prolific source of racial bitterness and strife, we warn both white and Negroes against the acceptance or circulation by either of reports about the other whose truth has not been fully established. We urge all citizens, white and Negro, vigorously to oppose all propaganda of malicious or selfish origin which would tend to excite race prejudice.

"We commend race contacts in cultural and co-operative efforts as tending strongly to mutual understanding and the promotion of good race relations.

"We condemn the provocation or fostering of race antagonism by associations or organizations ostensibly founded or conducted for purposes or patriotism or local improvements or the like.

"We recommend as of special importance that a permanent local body representing both races be charged with investigating situations likely to produce clashes, with collecting and disseminating information tending to preserve the peace and allay unfounded fears, with bringing sound public sentiment to bear upon the settlement of racial disputes and with promoting the spirit of interracial tolerance and co-

operation."

#### Housing Is Weighty Factor

The commission has this to say to the white members of the public:

"We call to public attention the fact that intensity of racial feeling is not necessarily due to the presence of Negroes in a neighborhood, either in the majority or minority, and that such feeling is not the rule but the exception; and we cite as a conspicuous example the peaceful conditions that have long obtained in the area between Roosevelt road and 39th street from Wentworth avenue to Lake Michigan, in which the Negro population in 1920 numbered 54,906 and the white population 42,797.

"Our inquiry has shown that insufficiency in amount and quality of housing is an all-important factor in Chicago's race problem; there must be more and better housing to accommodate the great increase in Negro population, which was at the rate of 148 per cent from 1910 to 1920. This situation will be made worse by methods tending toward forcible segregation or to dealing extra-judicially with cases of Negroes coming before the Moral and Juvenile courts; also to cases of Negro children dropping out of school too early in age.

"We recommend that Negroes, as well as whites, be given opportunity for training for service in the city's public recreation facilities."

#### Urge Constructive Methods

"We therefore recommend that all white citizens energetically discourage these futile, pernicious and lawless practices, and either co-operate in or start movements to solve the housing problem by constructive and not destructive methods.

"Testimony before the commission and investigations made by it show two important facts: (a) That depreciation of residence property generally charged exclusively to the presence of Negroes in a neighborhood is often largely due to the fact that many Negroes in this city meet their obligations in such a manner as to make their home and building and home owning investments a more desirable risk than has heretofore been generally supposed. We therefore recommend that these facts be taken into consideration in connection with loans on Negro property.

"We condemn and urge the discontinuance of the practice of property owners who arbitrarily advance rents merely because Negroes become tenants.

"We recommend that white persons seek information from responsible and representative Negroes as the basis of their judgment about Negro traits, characteristics and tendencies, and thereby counteract the common disposition, arising from erroneous tradition and literature, to regard all Negroes as belonging to one homogeneous group and as being inferior in mentality and morality, given to emotionalism and having an innate tendency toward crime, especially sex crime."

#### Recommendations to Negroes.

Recommendations to the Negro members of the public are:

"We recommend to Negroes the promulgation of sound racial doctrines among the uneducated members of their group and the discouragement of propaganda and agitators seeking to inflame racial animosity and incite Negroes to violence.

"We urge Negroes to contribute more freely their money and personal effort to the social agencies developed by public-spirited members of their group, also to contribute to the general social agencies of the community.

"We recommend that the Negro community, through the extension or establishment of the necessary social agencies, undertake to supply means and encouragement for leisure activities, and undertake work among Negro boys and girls along the lines of prevention of vice and crime; also that it provide institutional care of dependent Negro children.

"We particularly urge that Negroes vigorously and continuously protest against the presence in their residence

areas of any vicious resort, and that they join in and support all efforts to suppress such places.

"We recommend the important work done by the Chicago Urban League, the Negro churches and other organizations in facilitating the adjustment of migrant Negroes from the South to the conditions of living in Chicago and urge its extension. We also commend the work already done by Negroes through community associations in bettering the appearance and sanitary condition of housing and recommend its further extension.

"While we recognize the propriety and social values of Race pride among Negroes, we warn them that thinking and talking too much in terms of Race alone is calculated to promote separation of Race interests and thereby interfere with racial adjustment."

#### Labor Struggles Dangerous.

To the employers and labor organizations, this advice is directed:

"We have found that in the struggles between capital and labor Negro workers are in a position dangerous to themselves and to peaceful relations between the races, whether the issues involve their use by employers to undermine wage standards or break strikes, or efforts by organized labor to keep them out of certain trades while refusing to admit them to membership in the unions in such trades. We feel that unnecessary racial bitterness is provoked by such treatment of Negro workers, that racial prejudice is played upon by both parties, and that through such practices injury comes, not alone to Negroes, but to employers and labor organizations as well.

"We therefore recommend to employers that they deal with Negroes as workmen on the same plane as white workers; and to labor unions that they admit Negroes to full membership whenever they apply for it and possess the qualifications required of white workers.

"We commend to the attention of employers who fear clashes or loss of white workers by taking on Negroes the fact that in the 89 per cent of the industries investigated by this commission Negroes were found working in close association with white employees, and that friction between these elements had rarely been manifested.

#### Opportunities for Negroes.

"In view of the limited field of employment within which Negroes are restricted, we recommend that employers in all lines enlarge that field and permit Negroes an equal chance with whites to enter all positions for which they are qualified by efficiency and merit. In this connection, especial attention is called to the fact that opportunity is generally denied to Negroes for gainful employment, they be made eligible for promotion to positions as conductors and stewards.

"We point out as an injustice and a cause of racial antagonism the practice of some employers in hiring Negroes as strike-breakers and discharging them when the strike is settled, in order to permit the return of former white employees.

"We find that employment of Negro girls at a smaller wage than white girls and the denial to them of apprenticeship opportunities are a cause of racial antagonism. We therefore recommend that the employment of Negro girls be based on merit, with equality of wages, piece rates and apprenticeship opportunities with white girls; we also recommend that Negroes in domestic employment rendering the same quality of service as whites be paid at the same rate as white domestics.

#### Racial Peace in Industry

"Realizing that the common welfare is involved in the employment or non-employment of Negro workers, and seeking means to preserve racial peace in industry, we recommend: (a) That where Negro employees are dismissed for unsatisfactory service other Negroes recommended by reliable Negro organizations be given an opportunity to replace them; (b) that in times of in-

dustrial depression, employers reduce their forces in such a manner that the hardships of unemployment may not be disproportionately severe on Negro workers; (c) that where Negroes are employed with whites at the same tasks they be given equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for piece work and overtime work; (d) that Negro workers be given opportunity for advancement and promotion according to merit, and efficiency and without race discrimination; (e) that Negro workers be afforded the opportunity to learn and engage in the skilled processes of their employment; (f) that superintendents closely supervise the relations of foremen with Negro workers and see that there is no racial injustice or discrimination; (g) that employers generally deal with Negroes, whether engaged in or seeking opportunity to engage in manual labor or clerical work, without discrimination as to race, and apply to them the same tests and conditions as to white employees.

"We strongly condemn the efforts of self-seeking agitators, Negro or white, who use race sentiment to establish separate unions in trades where existing unions admit Negroes to equal membership with whites."

#### Oppose Separate Unions

To Negro workers these recommendations are made:

"We recommend that qualified Negro workers desiring membership in labor organizations join unions which admit both races equally instead of organizing separate Negro labor unions.

"We recommend that Negroes completely abandon the practice of seeking petty advance payments on wages and the practice of laying off work without good cause.

"We recommend that Negroes avail themselves wherever possible of opportunities in apprentice schools and classes.

"We recommend to all Negroes dependent on manual labor the learning of some skilled trade, even though there is no present opportunity to engage in it."

#### Advice to Car Lines

To the street car companies this advice is given:

"In view of the large number of racial assaults on persons riding in street cars, we recommend that conductors and motormen be specially instructed concerning protection of passengers, white and Negro, and be rigidly held to the discharge of this duty.

"We recommend that all loading points where whites and Negroes board cars in large numbers starters be employed and overcrowding be prevented as far as possible."

Recommendation to restaurants, theaters, stores and other places of public accommodation are:

"We point out that Negroes are entitled by law to the same treatment as other persons in restaurants, theaters, stores and other places of public accommodation, and we urge that owners and managers of such places govern their policies and actions and their employees accordingly."

#### Plea Made to Press

To the press are made these recommendations:

"In view of the recognized responsibility of the press in its general influence upon public opinion concerning Negroes—especially of race rioting—we recommend: (a) That the newspapers generally, including the foreign language press, apply the same standards of accuracy, fairness and sense of proportion, with avoidance of exaggeration in publishing news about Negroes as about whites; in this connection special attention is called to the fact that emphasis, greatly out of proportion to that given their creditable acts, is frequently placed on the crimes and misdeeds of Negroes, who, unlike other groups, are identified with each incident and thus constantly associated with discreditable conduct; (b) that the manner of news treatment be no different in the case of Negroes from that of

See next card. No. 2



# Riots - 1922 TOTAL CASUALTIES Leaders of Mob IN HERRIN FIGHT At Herrin Known ARE OVER SEVENTY Says Association

*Atlanta Constitution*  
Herrin, Ill., July 31.—(By the Associated Press.)—The National Coal association in a statement issued tonight announcing completion of a sweeping, impartial investigation of the Herrin massacre, declared that the leaders of the mob were known and that at least 500 members of the mob can be arrested any time. Attorney General Brundage, of Illinois, gives the word.

The association is laying "its evidence and findings before the governor of Illinois," the statement said. "Particular emphasis should be laid on the point that survivors of the massacre are able to point out the official of the United Mine Workers of America who gave the word to take the unarmed prisoners off the road in to the woods and shoot them down in the manner of an army squad executing spies or traitors," says the announcement. The statement adds:

"The national coal association supports the contention of the Illinois attorney general that the massacre was a result of a well laid conspiracy and that the riot was not spontaneous. The report deals comprehensively with such matters as the telegram sent to Herrin by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, failure of the sheriff to do his duty; organization of the mob as a military machine and the unkept truce pledges assumed jointly by the sheriff and the ranking coal official of the United Mine Workers.

"Lewis' telegraphed instructions to treat the members of the steamshovel men's union as 'an outlaw organization and common strike-breakers' was followed on successive days by a mass meeting, the attack on the mine and the massacre."

The statement announces that the investigation corroborated stories "of barbarous treatment of wounded" as reported by press association and newspapers and declared that some bodies were found to have been anded.

## UNION TO AID MEMBERS' DEFENSE.

Springfield, Ill., July 31.—(By the Associated Press.)—The Illinois branch of the United Mine Workers will "finance and direct the defense" of the union member brought to trial for the Herrin massacre, Frank Farrington, Illinois president, announced today.

The very magnitude and sternness of the agitation for the punishment of those involved in the rioting creates danger for innocent men, said a statement issued over Mr. Farrington's signature this afternoon.

*Illinois*  
ings and mob crimes have been confined to south of the Mason and Dixon line. Illinois has had not only the Herrin massacre, but the Springfield riots and the East Saint Louis lynchings to account for. Omaha went mad for a night. Other parts of the North have contributed to the sorry record. The Southern lynchings, however, have been more numerous and persistent. In certain states it seems almost as if

mob murder is a recognized institution.

Passage of the Dyer bill would be a long step forward in checking this growing spirit of lawlessness. The question of the bill's constitutionality has been bothering some of the senators. They should not hesitate to do their manifest duty for fear the Supreme court might not agree with them. If congress refuses to act, it is responsible for the continuance of the infamous practice which this bill is framed

## HERRIN AND THE JOLIET MURDERS

*Chicago Daily Tribune*  
That the sheriff of Will county should be shot in the performance of his duty is a natural sequel to the Herrin massacre, or, rather, to the failure to bring any one to punishment for that crime. At Herrin union men on strike asserted the right to murder nonunion men. They killed by wholesale with zest and openly gloried in the atrocity. Moreover, there has been no emphatic repudiation from the leadership of union labor, much less assistance to authorities in bringing the guilty to justice.

8-9-22  
As for the action of constituted authority, it has been ineffective. The local machinery of justice is apparently tainted with the perverted public sentiment and savage partisanship of the district. The state authorities apparently have been divided as to measures and the attorney general has not been able to get prompt results. The result is that the Herrin massacre stands today an unchallenged defiance of our law and civilization. As such it is an invitation to murder and to massacre, to mob tyranny and insolent disregard of private rights or public authority. When a crowd gathers in sympathy with strikers and threatens riot and assault, arson or murder, the peace officers must expect murderous attack so long as the Herrin outrage goes unpunished.

We trust these officers and the guardsmen called to service will be assured of their duty and exercise it without fear or hesitation. Strikers who use guns and assume they are entitled to destroy property and wound or kill should be taught that the commonwealth of Illinois is conscious of its strength and will not have its laws

denied and the peace of its people destroyed. But Illinois must wipe out the blot of Herrin if it is to hold up its head among American communities or expect that violent men will respect her. We do not think a sufficient effort has been made by the state authorities. We recognize there are difficulties, but they should be attacked more energetically.

There are ways to bring Williamson county to a decent sense of its obligations. Criminal prosecution should be pressed in spite of obstructions and another method is civil proceedings to penalize the county for its failure to maintain order and protect life within its borders. There is no reason for the existence of government if it will not do that, and Williamson county, if it cannot be brought to a moral reprobation of the Herrin tragedy or assist to bring its perpetrators to punishment, can at least be penalized financially for its attitude.

We do not ignore the fact that crimes go unpunished in Cook county and elsewhere throughout the country. We have had our shameful race riot and we may have other outbreaks of mob violence. In such case we shall suffer and ought to suffer. But one thing is clear, and that is the disposition to use violence in this country is not adequately treated by the agencies of government nor sufficiently reprobated by the public conscience. There is no shadow of excuse for this pervasive evil. We make our own laws; we choose our own officials to enforce them. Neither is imposed upon us, yet we permit both to be defied. That is to confess our own moral feebleness and want of civic intelligence.

That the Herrin massacre should occur was bad enough, but that we should sit quietly by while it goes unpunished into oblivion is far worse.

## MEXICO 'MAKES REPRESENTATIONS.'

*Montgomery Advertiser*  
8-10-22  
It is Mexico's turn to beg Americans to protect the lives of Mexican nationals, and our neighbor does not hesitate to do its duty as it sees it. We think a statement of Mexico's grievance should not only be considered in justice to a neighbor, but in justice to ourselves. The case is very well presented in the following Washington special to a well known American newspaper

The State Department has received a protest from the Mexican government against the alleged killing of two Mexican citizens and the beating up of others in connection with the massacre at Herrin, Ill.

The Department has acknowledged receipt of the message, and has given its assurance that the whole case will be investigated. It is understood that proper representations have been made to the governor of Illinois, and that when the Illinois authorities have completed their investigations a further reply will be made to the Mexican government.

The Mexican protest is based on two different phases of evidence. The first



is the formal acknowledgment of the governor of Illinois that two Mexicans were killed during the massacre at Herrin, and others beaten up. The second embraces depositions from the Resendiz brothers, Mexican citizens, who have been undergoing treatment in Kansas City for injuries received at the hands of a mob.

In their depositions, the brothers state that they set out from Chicago in company with two other Mexicans in search of work. They were traveling in a local train. About a day and a half out of Chicago, the train stopped and the four Mexicans got down and entered the station restaurant. While eating they were set upon by a mob. The Resendiz brothers escaped but the other two were left behind and were not seen afterward by them.

Inquiry addressed to the railway developed the fact that the train on which they took passage was routed through Herrin, Ill., and the time of travel specified by them, was thought to be about that necessary for them to have reached that station.

In view of reports immediately after the rioting at Herrin that two Mexicans had been killed and two others badly beaten, it was thought the Resendiz brothers were the two who escaped and that their two companions were the two killed.

The Mexican consul at Chicago, according to information in possession of the State Department, went to Herrin to investigate. Upon asking for the mayor of Herrin, he was told that official was not in town; and when he asked to see the acting mayor, he was informed there was no such person.

The consul then went to the chief of police, who said he knew nothing about the matter. The consul did succeed later, however, in getting a statement from the governor of Illinois that two Mexicans had been killed at Herrin and two others injured.

It will not do for us to say that Mexicans are not killed in this country because they are Mexicans, but because they are trying to work for a living at jobs which other men have abandoned. The fact is that they have been killed, murdered, not executed by lawful means. They had done nothing to deserve lawful execution. They had violated no laws. They had done nothing worse than to seek gainful employment at tasks which other men had abandoned for reasons satisfactory to themselves.

We do not think that the Mexicans are able to show by the comparison that we are as lawless a people as they are. Of course we are not. We are on the whole a more advanced people than the Mexicans. We are a different type of people, with different traditions and different opportunities in life. We hold a position of leadership among the nations, and for all of these good reasons we should pose as an example to other nations in good conduct,

and we should deserve the right to pose as such.

What sort of answer can Illinois make to the Mexicans, through the State Department? What can it say?

## BLACKS AND WHITES

### BATTLE IN NEW YORK

*Commercial Appeal*  
Race Riot Follows Invasion of  
White Section by Negroes  
9-18-1922.

NEW YORK, Sept. 17.—Bricks, razors, knives, clubs and fists were the weapons that sent six victims to hospitals and a score of others less seriously injured, to physicians for treatment today, as the result of a race riot between whites and blacks that grew out of the invasion by negroes of a neighborhood tenanted by white families. Police reserves quelled the battle.

Three of the six seriously injured are under arrest and under police guard in hospitals. They are white men, all charged with felonious assault. They are suffering from razor cuts, stab wounds and broken heads. A negro and two negroes also are in hospitals, but have not been arrested.

The battle occurred in west 50th Street, in the Upper West Side, where the police say trouble has been brewing for some months. Early today a party of white men is alleged to have invaded a hall where a celebration of negroes was in progress. They were ejected, badly beaten, the police say, and later they dragged two negroes and their male escort from a taxicab and set on them.

This is said to have precipitated a general battle, whites and blacks flocking to the melee from all directions. Razors, knives and clubs augmented fists, while adherents of both factions stood on nearby tenement roofs and hurled into the swirling mass bricks torn from chimneys. Riot calls brought several squadrons of police, who rushed the two factions into an enforced peace.

Extra police tonight are patrolling the neighborhood to prevent a resumption of hostilities.

J. C. POST

SEPTEMBER 27, 1922

### Chicago and the Negro

Three years ago, after the loss of thirty-eight lives in the July race riots, which started in a bathing beach scrimmage, the *Chicago Tribune* declared that the city "is disgraced and dishonored"; that "its reputation is at its lowest point," and that "it has an emergent task." Chicago was facing a problem which the heavy wartime migration of negroes northward had presented to a dozen other cities, in some of which, as St. Louis and Washington, similar bloody outbreaks had occurred. Approximately 65,000 negroes had poured into a new environment in Chicago, where they were without some of the social controls of the South, while large white communities were perplexed and resentful to find negro colonies growing up in their midst. Beyond the problem of preserving order lay the problem of giving the negroes decent homes and employment, adjusting them to urban standards of life, abating

the racial prejudice which naturally arose from negro competition, and diffusing right ideas of race relationships.

Southern cunnels used to have a ready panacea for racial friction: "Segregation, suh, segregation!" We have many advocates of segregation in practice if not theory here in New York and plenty of boycotting of negroes. Gov. Lowden's Commission on Race Relations has just published a report, "The Negro in Chicago," signed by twelve prominent representatives of both races, which deserves the study of every city. Northern and Southern, with a large negro population; and its whole emphasis is upon constructive measures and against merely negative proposals like segregation, which it rightly says would be illegal, impractical, and certain to accentuate friction.

Housing is perhaps the most difficult question, for bad housing renders the negro discontented, while the supposed injury to property values by negro invasion is one of the chief spurs to white ill temper. But the housing problem can be met by a practical building programme, in which negro leaders and banks, negro and white realty men, loan associations, and landlords, will cooperate for the general

good. Friction arising from negro competition in the labor field can be lessened if employers refrain from using negroes to cut wages or break strikes and if white unions encourage the organization of negro workers. Better schools, recreation centres, community centres, and other social agencies can make the negro a more contented citizen and a neighbor that white people will regard more tolerantly. Owners of theatres, restaurants, and stores can encourage a sound public attitude by giving the negro a square deal, and the newspapers can print helpful instead of sensational news.

When everything possible is done there will remain a residuum of friction due to prejudices which will not be stamped out for generations. The race problem cannot be solved in a hurry, and the commission admits as much by placing foremost among its recommendations a demand for special police arrangements to meet disorder. But social adjustment is the chief difficulty, and all possible agencies—schools, churches, clubs, charities, newspapers, employment bureaus, unions—should be enlisted to meet it.



Riots - 1922.

# RIOT DEATH GETS WIDOW LARGE SUM

*Chicago Defender*  
City Must Pay \$5,000 to  
Mrs. Hardwick for Murder  
of Her Husband  
5/6/22

On the morning of July 29, 1919, Paul Hardwick left his home, 6730 Langley avenue, to go to the Palmer



Atty. Latham

House, where he was employed as a waiter. It was after 5 o'clock. Hardwick passed through the worst areas of the riot district and had thought himself out of danger when he arrived downtown. At 30 E. Adams street, a man said to be Roy Freedman (white), yelled: "Here's one." Hardwick paid little attention to the signal and kept walking. A brick was hurled at him. "Let's get him,"

came another shout. Hardwick, failing to see an officer, began to run. The mob had swelled to about thirty. He was chased for several blocks and finally turned to the mob for an explanation. A shot rang out and Hardwick dropped to the ground with a bullet through his breast. He was kicked, robbed and severely beaten. He died shortly afterward. Last Thursday, Attorney Wm. J. Latham, representing Mrs. Laura Hardwick, the widow, obtained from a jury in the circuit court of Cook county, presided over by Judge Windes, a judgment in the sum of \$5,000. The suit was filed against the City of Chicago to recover statutory damages for the mobbing of her husband. The presentation of the case and argument to the jury by Attorney Latham



was described by several of the jurors and court attaches as perfect, complete and convincing. The judgment obtained by Mrs. Hardwick is the full amount allowed by statutes and the largest award in any of the damage cases growing out of the race riot of 1919. Associated with Attorney Latham were Attorneys Wm. H. Temple and John R. Lynch.

Mr. Hardwick was a property owner and had a splendid record at the Palmer House, where he had worked for twelve years.

## WEST SIDE MOB ATTACKS GIRLS WHO AIDED MAN

Maxwell Street Market Is

Scene of Big Outburst;

Warrants Issued

*Chicago Defender*  
What Judge Bugee of the Municipal court declares is the most flagrant case of neglect of duty coming to his attention during his many years on the bench was brought before him when the commanding officers of the Maxwell street station refused to make arrests after a West Side mob had attacked and brutally assaulted Anna and Elizabeth Williams.

After the firm of Ellis and Westbrook, attorneys for the girls, told Judge Bugee of the vicious assault upon the two girls and how the mob at Maxwell street station had regarded the appeals of the two girls and had absolutely refused to give them any sort of protection, the judge issued warrants for the arrest of four of the members of the West Side mob.

The two sisters, Anna Williams and Elizabeth Williams, 1720 West Taylor street, accompanied by Rena Jones, 1733 Fulton street, alighted from a street car at Maxwell and Halsted streets just as a mob, assisted by two officers of the law with their clubs, was assaulting Arthur Brooks, 569 East 35th street. One of the officers, according to the girls, was wearing star numbered 3699.

Brooks had come to the public market to buy fowls for his Sunday meal. He was standing talking to a friend when, it is said, a mob, without the least provocation, set upon him and proceeded to beat him up. Two officers arrived on the scene, but instead of restoring order, as the story goes, they proceeded to help the mob. The two Williams girls, arriving on the scene at that time, begged the officers to save Brooks' life. They disregarded the girls' pleas and con-

Illinois.

tinued to assault Brooks with their clubs. No arrests were made in the affair except Brooks, who had been assaulted. The complaint against Brooks was signed by a Harry Cohen, who had led the mob.

### Girls Assaulted

The two Williams girls proceeded to make their purchases when they were set upon by two Jews and brutally assaulted. Elizabeth Williams, who is only 16 years of age, was badly bruised from the assault. They appeared at the Maxwell street station and reported the assault to the commanding officers, who refused to make any arrests, giving as an excuse that the girls could not tell him the names of the men, although they did offer to point them out to the officer.

The firm of Ellis and Westbrook has been retained for the Williams girls and Brooks. Emmanuel Eller, judge-elect of the Municipal court and a candidate for election in November, is the prosecuting attorney at Maxwell street station and the case promises to be one of much interest, especially as regards his sincerity in the prosecution of this case. The date of jury trial in the Brooks case has been set for June 15.

INNAP CA NEWS  
JUNE 24, 1922

### THE ILLINOIS MASSACRE.

Since the days of the Indian massacres nothing more terrible has occurred in the United States in peace times than the fight at Herrin, Ill., and its aftermath. That not men only, but women and children could find something to joke about in the dying pleas of wounded men for water, or in a row of mangled dead is something that strains and shocks the imagination. It is possible to imagine men doing terrible things in the heat of passion, or hate, but for little children to laugh at the line of dead—how can that be explained?

And what is to be the outcome of the fight? Is there to be a general disposition in Illinois to forget? Or will the men who, after capturing the defenders of the coal mine, tortured them and killed them be made to suffer for their crime? Let it be remembered that under the terms of the Dyer anti-lynching bill the attackers were a mob, and the killings were lynchings. The dead were white men; there was no allegation that they had committed crimes. Their offense was to accept jobs and to seek to defend the property of their employers from attack. For this they were killed, some of them tortured before being put to death. And this in Illinois, presumably one of the most highly-civilized and law-abiding of the states. It will be expected that the guilty will be brought to justice. Civilization could not be content with anything else.

The one most important thought in this whole matter is that there must have been entire disrespect for the government of Illinois, else no one would have dared to begin the attack on the mine. Men had become victims of the idea

that they could take their affairs into their own hands, punish whom they thought were their enemies and inflict the punishment in any horrible way they pleased. Illinois should make such an example of them that never again would any group of men in that state attempt anything of the kind. On every occasion when a group of men, whether in Illinois or any other state, violates the rights of others, wounds and kills, let its members, however numerous, be treated as they deserve under the law. The law is peculiarly on trial in the United States to-day. It must assert and prove its competence to serve and protect the people.

## Jury Convicts Negro Charged With Murder In Byromville Riots Atlanta Constitution

Vienna, Ga., June 27.—(Special.)—The trial of LaVerga West, one of the 14 negroes implicated in the Byromville riots of a year ago, when a white man was killed, came to an end this afternoon, when the jury, which had been out two days and a night, brought in a verdict of guilty with recommendation for mercy. Judge Gower will sentence the negro to life imprisonment.

West, with other negroes, was tried and convicted on a charge of murder about a year ago and received a new trial on appeal to the supreme court. There are six negroes who have been convicted in the same case in jail here.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN  
JUNE 29, 1922

### Herrin 100 Per Cent American

There is an antilynching bill pending in Congress. If enacted it would apply to the township of Herrin, Ill., where the recent massacre of "scab" miners occurred, as much as to any town in Texas or Kentucky where a Negro lynching had taken place. The bill seeks to broaden the federal jurisdiction so that, in case American citizens are denied by bands of rioters their constitutional rights, or the equal protection of the laws, within the boundaries of a state, the federal power may intervene in behalf of justice.

Certain newspapers that have been most strongly opposed to this legislation are now bitterly denouncing first, the inhabitants of Herrin; second, the sheriff of Williamson county; third, the authorities of the state of Illinois for their failure to prevent the horror that has recently shocked the nation. They are each and severally denounced, also, with entire propriety, for failing after the event to arrest the perpetrator of the outrages and murders, or to attempt seriously to set the machinery of criminal justice in motion.

The verdict of the coroner's jury absurdly loading all the blame upon the mining company has only enflamed outside critics of the Herrin mob; nor is that in the least to be wondered at, for the history of lynchings and mob violence in America has seldom recorded a case of a coroner's jury that was not enflaming in its judgment on the result of an outbreak of the mob spirit.

But what does this storm of public indignation accomplish other than to permit the discharge of a vast quantity of emotional abhorrence of barbarous crimes of violence? Herrin is scarcely conscious of the national sweep of the public condemnation. Herrin is fully as American as ever. One hundred per cent American might best describe Herrin today. It is simply indulged in the most distinctive and characteristic of American outdoor sports, and there is no one of us who in his inner soul will not admit that to be the truth, distressingly shameful as the truth may be. Nothing happened at Herrin more atrocious than the occasional burnings of human beings at the stake in this country during the past 25 years. Outbreaks of savagery are chronic among us, North, South, East and West. And we are appallingly slow in correcting this conspicuous fault—probably the most conspicuous fault—of the American people.

The fault is partly due to the primitive savage that hides within us, notwithstanding the cloak of civilization that covers him; it is partly due also to the failure of our form of government, through its wide dispersion of authority and force, to control the ravages of the mobocracy in those localities where the power of organized government is weakest. The principle of local self-government, worked out so elaborately in our township, municipal, county and state system has outstanding merits, but only a people somewhat advanced in organized self-control can apply the principle to the best advantage. The American mob, however recruited, in whatever circumstances, is the visible proof of our limitations in self-government; and it is a question today whether the mob is gaining on self-government or whether self-government is gaining on the mob. The United States supreme court



has declared that the federal government cannot intervene to prevent child labor within the several states; it is not at all improbable that the same court would find a federal anti-lynching law an unwarranted invasion of states' rights. Yet if there is no other way to restrain somewhat the American mob than by threatening it with the heavy hand of the federal power, which alone is sensitive to national rather than to local sentiment, shall we not exhaust the possibilities of the competition in the effort?

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETTE  
JUNE 24, 1922

#### AFTER THE COUNTRY'S MOST DASTARDLY LYNCHING.

At Herrin, Ill., where perhaps 40 men—the total is not certain yet—were brutally lynched by union coal mine workers, we have a striking example of a not unusual breakdown of our political system. Those who took part in this dastardly crime talk openly of their exploit and the sheriff of the county in which Herrin is located makes no move to uphold the law. And what is more, the sheriff, by refusing to ask for state troops, keeps out of his county the soldiers who would bring law and order. He has been told that state troops will be sent on request, but he refuses to make the request. Instead he tells the state capitol that he "has the situation well in hand." And very bloody hands they are.

The mining district in which Herrin is located has for years been highly unionized. The union men, through their voting strength, control the politics of the county and the sheriff owes his job to them. So the sheriff refuses to arrest the men who took part in the brutal murders. Whether state officials will do their duty remains to be seen.

The details of the Illinois massacre are revolting in the extreme. The lynchers played with their victims, laughed at their groans and refused so much as a glass of water to the dying who begged for it. Six men, tied together and terribly mangled by gunshot wounds and blows from clubs, lay in the scorching sun and begged for water in the name of God, but no one answered their pleas. Instead, hundreds of men and women stood by watching their agony and laughing at it.

One of the union men told a correspondent of The Associated Press that he had seen 15 bodies with stones tied about their necks thrown into a pond. The known dead total 29, and it is believed the final total will reach 40.

The leaders of the mob who committed the murders at Herrin were negro men. This is the testimony of Fred Bernard of Chicago, an overseas veteran, who was one of the few to escape the murderers.

The whole country will watch with interest, developments in southern Illinois. Surely the state of Illinois will not let county politics defeat justice there.

#### AN OBJECT LESSON

THE MASSACRE at Herrin, Ill., furnishes an object lesson to the American people which calls for serious reflection and careful consideration. This and similar affairs illustrate the one weak point in our system of government, namely, states' rights. But for a rigid adherence and religious observance of the vicious doctrine of states' rights such occurrences would seldom if ever happen.

THE APPLICATION of that doctrine means that the national government cannot interfere or take any steps for the protection of life and property within the boundaries of any state unless called upon by the governor thereof to do so. The governor is not expected to take any notice of such occurrences unless called upon by the sheriff of the county for assistance. The sheriff is not presumed to have any knowledge of any riot or outbreak unless informed of that fact by the mayor of the city or municipality.

WHILE GOING THROUGH this red tape process many precious lives are liable to be lost and thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed. When the point is reached where the necessary protection is furnished the damage has already been done and the report then goes forth that "everything is quiet." This is the result of adherence to and observance of states' rights, otherwise called "local self-government," which means that every locality must be allowed to govern itself, even though that government be under the domination of mob law.

AT HERRIN the law-abiding citizens are actually afraid to give public expression to their disapproval of the massacre for fear of being victims themselves. What is true of Herrin in this respect is and has been true of several Southern states for the past 25 years. Those states have during that period been under the domination of mob law. The mobs control local sentiment, hence lynch law and all other kinds of mob violence flourish and go unpunished because the government represents and is responsible to those by whom such acts are committed.

THESE THINGS will never be wholly remedied until the doctrine of states' rights shall have been materially modified if not wholly abolished. This laudable result was believed to have been accomplished when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, but the federal supreme court in construing the war amendments to the constitution and the legislation for their enforcement, revived and resuscitated the mischievous doctrine of states' rights with result such as we see at Herrin and in the Southern states.

THIS DOCTRINE is carried so far that the right of the federal government to prohibit child labor in the different states is denied. The alleged unconstitutionality of the Dyer anti-lynching bill is upon the theory that it is an encroachment upon states' rights. In

other words, according to the advocates of that doctrine, whenever and wherever the mob spirit is strong enough to dominate any one particular locality, the citizens thereof must necessarily be at the mercy of the mob. This is the primary cause of the general lawlessness that is sweeping this country today.

#### "DIRTY NIGGERS"

THE MASSACRE at Herrin, Ill., was an unfortunate and regrettable affair which is very much deplored by all law-abiding citizens. It seems to have been the outgrowth of a war between capital and labor in which, of course, the race question was in no sense involved. But the murderers of Colored people in the South and their sympathizers, there and elsewhere, always look with glee and satisfaction upon any crimes that are committed north of the Mason and Dixon line, it matters not what for nor by whom, as an excuse or justification for their hellish deeds and heinous crimes that are being constantly committed upon innocent and inoffensive people.

QUITE A NUMBER of communications have appeared in Northern newspapers, written by Southerners, in which the Herrin massacre is held up as a justification for lynch law in the South. It would be just as appropriate to claim that a bandit who holds up an express train for purposes of highway robbery in the state of Illinois, for instance, is a sufficient justification for a cowardly mob of the so-called "best citizens" in a town in Florida, to lynch an inoffensive Colored man for some alleged, and in most instances, trivial offense.

OF COURSE these cowards always make an alleged assault upon white women the excuse for committing these unspeakable murders. One of the writers referred to in his communication used the word "womanhood" without the prefix "white." This perhaps was an oversight on his part, since the white brutes of that section who prey upon Colored women are usually rewarded instead of being punished for so doing. This accounts in large measure for the existence of more mixed bloods in the different Southern states in proportion to the population of each race than exists in any other part of the civilized globe. As a sample of the rot referred to we quote the following written from Tavares, Fla.:

"AS AN OLD NEWSPAPER MAN I have resented the attacks of Northern newspapers against Florida and the South because some dirty niggers have been lynched for an unnamable crime against white women. The lynchers of the South seldom, very seldom, get the wrong man, and for a crime against the most sacred thing known—woman; but at Herrin more lives were sacrificed in a more inhuman manner for simply trying to earn an honest living, and in a day, than have been charged against Florida in 20 years for lynching brutes."

THE WRITER typifies in the most pre-eminent degree the genuine American brute. He is no doubt one of that element of Southern aristocrats (?) who indulge in the pastime of lynching innocent and inoffensive Colored men in order to have more unrestricted access to the women of their Race and thus bring on a crop of half-breeds, while falsely pretending to protect the virtue of white women against the brutal assaults of Colored men.



# Riots - 1922.

## COMMISSION

## MAKES PUBLIC

## RIOT FINDINGS

*Chicago Whip 9/30/22*

After three years' study on race relations in Chicago, the commission on race relations appointed by Governor Lowden following the race riots of 1919, made public its report this week.

The commission made fifty-nine recommendations as to means for preventing future clashes between the races.

Some of the most important are as follows:

"We recommend that the most stringent means possible be applied to control the importation, sale and possession of firearms and other deadly weapons.

"We recommend that the authorities exercise their powers to condemn and raze all houses unfit for human habitation, enforce health and sanitary laws and regulations in the care and upkeep of streets and alleys and the connection of rubbish and garbage in areas of negro residence, where the commission has found these matters to be shamefully neglected.

"We recommend that, in the areas where the main part of the negro population lives, school buildings, equipment and teaching forces be provided which shall be at least equal to the average standard for the city, that night schools and community centers be established in sections not now adequately provided with such facilities, and that truant officers give attention to school attendance by the children of negro families migrating from the South.

"There must be more and better housing to accommodate the great increase in negro population, which was at the rate of 148 per cent from 1910 to 1920. This situation will be made worse by methods tending toward forcible segregation or exclusion of negroes."

### For Checks on Athletic Clubs

The report also recommended that bombings of homes in mixed districts be suppressed by "prompt and vigorous action" by the police. It also advised that each "athletic club" be forced to file with the city clerk statements of their purposes at stated intervals.

### Discourage Race Agitators

"We recommend to negroes the promulgation of sound racial doctrines among the uneducated members of their group and the discouragement of propaganda and agitators seeking to inflame racial animosity and incite ne-

groes to violence.

"We particularly urge that negroes vigorously and continuously protest against the presence in their residence areas of any vicious resort, and that they join in and support all efforts to suppress such places.

### Courts Unfair

"Negroes are more commonly arrested, subject to police identification, and convicted than white offenders. On similar evidence they generally are held and convicted on more serious charges and given longer sentences. We point out that these practices and tendencies are not only unfair to negroes but weaken the machinery of justice and produce misleading statistics of negro crime.

### RACE RIOTS COSTLY PASTIME.

*Louisville News*  
(By Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 28.—It is now estimated that "mob law" for eight days during the Chicago riot in 1919 will cost the local taxpayers more than \$500,000, in addition to their share of the expense of maintaining an estimated 6,000 state troops in the city for nine days. This estimate followed the council finance committee's approval yesterday of eighteen death claims aggregating \$81,000. *12/30/22*

For five other deaths the city had previously paid \$20,800, and probably will be forced to pay for fifteen other killings, which both the coroner's jury and the Lowden commission charge to the race riots.

On the basis of recent settlements, \$4,500 per death, recommended by a subcommittee composed of Ald. Guernsey, L. B. Anderson, Crowe, Schwartz, and Richert, the fifteen other deaths will cost \$67,500.

The riot injured total 543, according to the investigating body, the Lowden commission, of which 178 were white, 348 colored and seventeen of undetermined race.

Thirty-three were sufficiently injured to have filed suits for a total of \$170,000. Three have obtained judgments aggregating \$11,375—an average of \$3,791. It is roughly estimated that the thirty-three will obtain an average of \$1,000 each, which adds \$33,000 to the expense.

## Illinois.

## THE NORTHERN METHOD OF TREATING RACE RIOTS.

*Southwestern Christian Advocate 11-30-22*

Chicago had its race riot, as any city infested with large numbers of peoples of different races will have. It was a riot of large proportions. Twenty-three Negroes and fifteen whites were killed while 359 Negroes and half as many whites were wounded, and a thousand Negroes were rendered homeless. *New Orleans, La.*

But neither the fact nor the proportions of the riot are the singular things. Similar riots have occurred elsewhere—Atlanta, Houston, Washington, East St. Louis, Tulsa, for instance.

*How Chicago deals with the riot is an interesting study in sectional attitudes.* Other communities, particularly in the South, evade the real issues and facts and consequences of such social disturbances. But Chicago, as do most Northern communities, with most commendable frankness, fairness and intelligence, probed to the bottom of that occurrence and gave to the world for the first time, as the New York Herald wisely says, "the point of view of the Negro of the twentieth century." Herein is

the essential difference between lynching in a Southern community and in the North. Many Southerners do not understand why the South is always designated in speech and press and general sentiment, as the land of lynchings, while the North is not so regarded. It is not that lynching and riots do not too often occur in Northern sections, but it is because of the difference in opinion and attitude toward such disturbances and similar civic evils. *In the*

*lynchings are rarely ever investigated.* When they are, the time-worn, traditional finding is, that the victim "came to his death at the hands of unknown parties." Of the thousands of Southern lynchings of Negroes in thirty years it is doubtful whether there have been a half dozen convictions for the crime. *Quite the contrary methods obtains in Northern communities.*

Riots do occur there but they are promptly, scientifically investigated, the responsible causes are sought out for remedy and the guilty parties indicted, convicted and punished for their sin against the social order and their disregard for social welfare. *The community attitude is the thing that tells.*

Chicago investigated and found the facts.

That investigation makes one of the most valuable contributions to the solution of the problem of the races that has ever been made. It adduces scientific evidence which proves the Negro's contention that if our white neighbors will become sufficiently acquainted with the Negro to view him not thro prejudice and traditional opinions handed down from earlier and cruder conditions, they will find less ground for the uncharitable, unfair, and oppressive attitude assumed by many of them.

If the white public press would let up on the Negro, the two races would come more easily to a modus vivendi. *There is no greater enemy to the Negro today than is the white secular public press of the Nation.* It misrepresents him; it libels him; it's policy is to distort to his disadvantage, any report or group of facts that concerns him; it denies him a voice thro its columns, except those who will descend to the unmanly level of advising their race to be contented with their present lot and not aspire to anything beyond; it is so geared as to keep developing constantly a public opinion that reflects hostility to the Negro and is ready at any moment to be fanned into a flame and a holocaust of violence; indeed this same public press has staged and fomented the bulk of the riots and nerved the masses of the lynchers to their shameless acts of putting men to death illegally by the thousands. These facts are boldly brought ought by Chicago's Commission on Race Relations.

The Northern community not only impartially investigates lawlessness and adequately punishes the law breaker but, in the case of Chicago, gives forth a monumental contribution to the solution of America's race problem in the following words which are as apples of gold in pitchers of silver:

"In seeking advice and information about Negroes, white persons almost without exception fail to select for their information Negroes who are representative and can provide dependable information.

"That Negroes as a group are often judged by the manners, conduct, and opinions of servants in families, or other Negroes whose general standing and training do not qualify them to be spokesmen of the group.

"That the principal literature regarding Negroes is based upon traditional opinions and does not always portray accurately the present



status of the group.

"Most of the current beliefs concerning Negroes are traditional, and were acquired during an earlier period when Negroes were considerably less intelligent and responsible than now. Failure to change these opinions, in spite of the great progress of the Negro group, increases misunderstandings and the difficulties of mutual adjustment.

"That the common disposition to regard all Negroes as belonging to one homogeneous group is as great a mistake as to assume that all white persons are of the same class and kind.

"That much of the current literature and pseudo-scientific treatises concerning Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as: that Negroes have inferior mentality; that Negroes have inferior morality; that Negroes are given to emotionalism; that Negroes have an innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes.

"We believe that such deviations from recognized standards as have been apparent among Negroes are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits. We urge especially upon white persons to exert their efforts toward discrediting stories and standing beliefs concerning Negroes which have no basis in fact but which constantly serve to keep alive a spirit of mutual fear, distrust, and opposition."

"It is of the first importance that old prejudices against the Negroes, based upon their misfortunes and not on their faults, be supplanted with respect, encouragement, and cooperation, and with a recognition of their heroic struggles for self-improvement and of their worthy achievements as loyal American citizens."

There is no surer method of approach to a successful solution of the problem than is suggested in the above paragraph for the benefit of our white friends, nor can the Negro hope ever to arrive unless he is governed in all of his endeavors and ideals by the profound facts of the following paragraph:

"The Negro race must develop, as all races have developed, from lower to higher planes of living; and must base its progress upon industry, efficiency, and moral character. Training along these lines and general opportunities for education are the fundamental needs. As

the problem is national in its scope and gravity, the solution must be national. And the Nation must make sure that the Negro is educated for citizenship."

This law of the development of a race through industry, efficiency and character must be recognized and observed by those of our group who are impatient of our progress. At the same time, under the operation of this benign law, the race wants recognition and credit for what it has achieved and fair opportunities to accomplish more. To this attitude it is hoped the South will soon come.

#### TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

*New York Times*  
**When Rioters Conquer the Police.** While the riot in front of the Earl Carroll Theatre Sunday evening was not in itself a serious affair, it had significance as illustrating, for Ireland as well as for this country, exactly the sort of men and women who are doing what they can to prevent the establishment of peace, order and self-government in the island for which they profess so much affection. 11-28-22

Here, as there, complete disregard for the law and its representatives was shown, and if here there was no killing there was a good deal of talk about it, and the absence of fatalities seems largely to have been due to the failure of the police to do their duty. Why they failed can be suspected, but cannot be known until a much-needed investigation has been made.

Not often before, if ever, have our policemen allowed themselves to be coerced by a mob into letting its members have their own way and hold the field of battle as jeering and derisive victors. Commissioner ENRIGHT may be sure that this triumph over his men will be noted by these and other disorderly elements in the community, and that subsequent attempts to duplicate the success then achieved will be made by fiercer fighters than were then encountered. That is the natural penalty for such a defeat, and it should have been foreseen and avoided by the calling out of enough reserves to do the work that needed doing.

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Riots - 1022

# ONE DAY RECORD OF MOB VIOLENCE IN UNITED STATES

**Lynching Rampant Over  
The Whole Country. Care-  
fully Created Public Indif-  
ference To Wanton Mur-  
der Is Bearing Fruit In  
Strike Districts.**

The need of the national legislation against mob violence is being forcibly brought to the attention of the United States at a time when it could, and should, be made to count profitably in focussing attention to the broader benefits possible from the Dyer Bill.

The mine and railroad strikes, headed in importance by the orgy of brutal murders at Herin, Ill., are bred by the same impulses as are various lynchings of Negroes and such holocausts as East St. Louis and Tulsa. It is the way of the mob spirit to feed on the bloody scenes connected with the wholesale murdering of defenseless men. The causes lie in substituting might for right and the accustomed license of thoughtless men to whom the south have set an example.

As an excuse for mob murder during labor troubles the murderers set forth the right of men to protect their scale of living and their jobs. The term "scab" to striking laborers is in the same category as the term "nigger" to equally thoughtless, ignorant southerners. Both terms by careful press agenting have come to picture to the minds of mob members being to whom process of law, any right to justice or any consideration on a basis of a common humanness should be denied.

## One Day's Strike Record.

A glance at the news articles covering oneday's lawlessness in strike areas should cause America to study the price she is paying for a national license to mobs.

Wednesday, July 19, is a day typical of the effects of mob rule. At Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania a mob of men, women and boys attacked uniformed police guarding a railroad round house; at Buffalo, N. Y., explosive bombs were thrown on the floor of a car barn; at El Paso, Texas, a round house

was destroyed by an incendiary fire; at St. Augustine, Fla., a workman was shot to death; at Shreveport, La., a mob; at Cincinnati, O., a workman was beaten by a mob; at Rochester, N. Y., another workman was beaten; at Portland, Me., two locomotives were wrecked by a mob; at Pleasant Point W. Va., a railroad trestle was set afire in what was believed an attempt to wreck a passenger train.

This is the record of mob action in the United States for one day. The day's record is typical evidence a federal law and a public opinion against mob action is necessary. Unless some such law is passed it is only a matter of time until all United States classes with reverence will resort to direct, destructive action and law and order and judicial settling of differences will only be respected by members of the community who are too weak to resist the powers of organized government.

Down south capital considers the lawless exploitation of Negroes a rightful white man's privilege. Many southern white men consider unlicensed cohabiting with Negro women as a white man's inviolable right. Southern labor organizations consider it right and practical to both bar effective Negro membership or consideration of Negro workingmen as fully white men's equals, and still preserve the power and security of organized labor south.

What is true of the south is true in less degree north. Result is capital, white labor and white libertines constitute a strong group of common interest which interest is maintained to the Negroes' cost.

South, for cheap black labor capital has allowed indiscriminate murdering of Negroes to continue because in his manner Negroes can be kept in a state fearing to question the right of capital to exploit black labor. White labor organizations south think nothing of the lynching of Negroes because southern white laboring men are ignorant enough to have built up a make-believe contempt for color. Southern white, libertines, vice peddlers, collectors of graft and political hangers on are secure in their lusts and profits so long as they have a large Negro class to exploit unquestioned.

During the rail and mine strikes capital will pay for lack of attention to the south's double legal standard in industries stopped, crippled and ruined; white labor organizations will pay because the success of their fights will be endangered by capable Negro labor which white organizations have professed to despise and the United States as a whole will pay through the action of mobs following the examples set by countless lynching parties where black men only were the victims. As for strike breakers, thousands of them will be offered up on the altar of mob rule which has been built of the bones of black American bodies.

## Wild Throw in Negro Baseball Game at Chicago Monday Starts Rioting

CHICAGO, Sept. 4.—Rioting, in which a score of persons were injured, resulted from a wildly thrown baseball during a game between negro teams at Lincoln Park today. Before the battle ended, more than a hundred policemen, armed with pistols and clubs, charged a mob of more than a thousand persons to get a negro prisoner to a cell.

The riot started, according to the police, when one of the negro players threw to catch a runner at second base. The ball went wild and struck one of a number of Assyrian picnickers. The Assyrians immediately attacked the negroes and a furious uprising followed.

The rioting was finally quelled by Lincoln Park reserves and squads from two other stations. They first rescued a negro, who was accused of stabbing several Assyrians, and then charged the struggling mass of whites and blacks. Two Assyrians and the negro were taken into custody by the police.

According to stories told by the Assyrians, the wild ball struck a girl, who was in a party headed by Joseph and John Davis. The Davis brothers asked the negroes to move away a bit, but got no response.

Soon another ball came bounding into the picnic party and one girl told the player who came after it to keep away. Whereupon the negro was said to have retorted vulgarly. Davis attacked him with his fists and the negro drew a knife and slashed the boy several times across the face.

A patrolman arrested the negro, but before a patrol wagon arrived the prisoner's friends, numbering the players and several hundred negro spectators, attempted to rescue him, and the Assyrians went to the aid of the patrolmen. There were cries of "lynch him" from the whites and growlings also from the negro section of the constantly growing throng. The battle followed.

Then the police reserves came battering their way through the fighting mob and after forming many tiers deep about their prisoner, they turned and fought their way out.



Riots - 1922.

## File Motion to Have

### Cases of Six Elaine

#### Rioters Advanced

*Pittsburgh Courier* 4/15/22

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 27.—A motion to advance the cases of the six Elaine riot victims now pending on writ of habeas corpus before the United States Supreme Court is being prepared by Attorney General J. S. Utely, and will be filed shortly. Mr. Utely said that he has written asking for the printed record in the case, and prefers reading it over before filing his motion.

The six prisoners, Frank Moore, Ed and Frank Hicks, J. E. Knox, Ed Coleman and Paul Hall, have been in the penitentiary for two years under sentence of death for rioting and murder while a series of legal battles in both state and federal courts have been waged over them.

Ordinarily the case would not be reached on the United States Supreme Court docket until next fall. Mr. Utely is basing his motion on grounds of public policy. While the motion has not yet been drafted it will set out the fact that Phillips county is being put to an expense of \$1 a day while the six men are held in the penitentiary and that if the prisoners are entitled to clemency it is not just to hold them in prison longer than necessary.

## Third Trial For Elaine

### "Rioters"

*Chicago Whip* 4/15/22

MARIANNA, Ark., April 15.—One of the important cases set for the coming session of court is the third trial of the six so-called "Elaine insurrectionists," charged with the murder of W. A. Atkins, who was killed at the Hoop Spur schoolhouse September 30, 1919. Atkins was the first man killed in the Elaine insurrection, which occurred October, 1919, in Phillips county. This will be the third trial of these cases, which are being tried on a change of venue from Phillips county upon the application of the defendants.

The first trial in Phillips county resulted in conviction and a sentence of death, but upon an appeal to the Supreme Court, the cases were reversed because the verdicts returned by the jury omitted the words "of murder in the first degree." Upon a remand of the cases they were tried the second time in Phillips county, resulting in another conviction and sentences of death the second time. The cases again were appealed, and again reversed by the Supreme Court on the ground that the Circuit Court had

erred in hearing testimony on a motion which had been filed by the defendants to quash the jury venire on the ground that discrimination had been used in drawing the jury, in that only whites were summoned for jury service. The men on trial are Ed Ware, John Martin, Alf Banks Jr., Will Wordlow, Albert Giles and Joe Fox.

## ELAINE RIOT CASES

### TAKEN TO LEE COURT

Six Negroes on Trial for Atkin

*Memphis Commercial* Monday, 4/19/22

MARIANNA, Ark., April 8.—A case of importance at the court session of the Lee circuit court is that of six negroes charged with the murder of W. A. Atkins, who was killed at the Hoop Spur Schoolhouse, Sept. 30, 1919. Atkins being the first man killed in the Elaine race riots, which occurred in September and October, 1919 in Phillips County. This will be the third trial of these cases, which are being tried on a change of venue from Phillips County upon the application of the defendants.

The first trial in Phillips County resulted in conviction and a sentence of death and upon an appeal to the supreme court, the cases were reversed because the verdicts returned by the jury omitted the words "of murder in the first degree."

Upon remand of the cases they were tried the second time in Phillips County, resulting in another conviction and sentences of death the second time. The cases were appealed again and again reversed by the supreme court on the ground that the circuit court had erred in hearing testimony on a motion which had been filed by the defendants to quash the jury venire on the ground that discrimination had been used in drawing the jury, in that no negroes were summoned for jury service.

The negroes on trial are Ed Ware, John Martin, Alf Banks, Sr., Will Wordlow, Albert Giles and Joe Fox.

Another case of considerable importance is that of the State vs. Harvey Bumpass, negro, who is being held in jail charged with the murder of Russell Johnson, a young white man, who was assassinated in September, 1921, while on his way to a rice farm to pay the laborers. Robbery is thought to have been the motive of the crime, though the money was not secured, young Johnson returning the fire, and, it is believed, wounding his murdered. Johnson died two days later in a Little Rock hospital, from the effects of the wound.

Many other cases will be investigated by the grand jury, these including nearly every crime on the calendar—the majority dealing with burglary, grand larceny, forgery, the manufacture and sale of whisky. The first week of court will be taken up with civil cases, there being a large number of these, also.

Elaine

## Elaine's Alleged Rioters Have Not Been Executed

Bishop Conner Says Twelve Men Sentenced to Electric Chair Have Not As Yet Paid the Penalty

--Committee Has Been Unfairly Criticized

*New York Age* 4/1/22

Bishop James M. Conner, chairman of the colored section of the Inter-racial Committee in Arkansas, says none of the twelve colored men sentenced to be electrocuted for alleged participation in the race riots at Elaine, Ark., have paid the penalty.

The bishop was in the city last week to attend the A. M. E. Bishops' Council, and when asked about the status of the matter said:

"But few people realized the difficulties we had to undergo, and directed much unfair criticism toward the committee. James M. Cox, president of Philander Smith College and J. H. Booker, head of Arkansas Baptist College, aided me in trying to save the men's lives. We raised more than \$13,000 as a defense fund and must praise Governor Brough, then chief executive of the State, for not listening to popular clamor and ordering the electrocution of the condemned men."



# Riots - 1922

Elaine

## BIRMINGHAM ALA AGE WEEK SEPTEMBER 18, 1922 FUNERAL OF A NEGRO MINISTER

From the Arkansas Gazette.

The body of a former slave was buried yesterday at Helena and the business houses of that city were closed during the funeral hour to show the respect of the people, white and black, for this man who had forged ahead and in doing so had helped forward thousands of his race. The ex-slave was the Rev. Elias Camp Morris, head of the National Baptist convention and for 43 years pastor of Centennial Baptist church at Helena.

The negro leader put common sense as well as earnestness into his work. He knew the negro and he knew the white man. Because the white people knew he was earnest and honest they gave him their support and when he died they paid him a most unusual honor.

Will any of the northern and eastern newspapers and magazines that slandered Helena and Phillips county after the Elaine uprising direct attention to the funeral of the Rev. E. C. Morris and the action of the white people of Helena with reference to that funeral?

### NEGROES GET NEW TRIAL.

Six of Elaine Rioters Will Be Tried

10/10/22 are at  
Lee County.

HELENA, Ark., Oct. 10.—The cases of six Elaine rioters who are held in the Phillips County jail after having been granted a change of venue from this county to Lee County, are to be tried at this term of the Lee County circuit court. Their cases will be called Wednesday but it probable that trial will not be held in Marianna until Monday or Tuesday of next

week. The negroes are Ed Ware, Joe Fox, Will Wordlow, John Martin, Alf Banks and Albert Giles. Giles, who was shot during the insurrection was taken to the penitentiary several days ago for medical treatment by a member of the sheriff's force here.

### ELAINE RIOTERS WILL BE TRIED IN DECEMBER

Memphis Press,  
11-4-22

Cases of Six Will Be Heard in  
Lee County Shortly

Commercial Appeal

MARIANNA, Ark., Nov. 3.—Judge J. M. Jackson has announced that he will hold an adjourned term of court on the second Monday in December for the purpose of making some disposition of the cases against the six negroes who are held for murder in connection with the Elaine riot several years ago. These six negroes were tried in the Phillips County court and were given the extreme penalty of death. Their cases were remanded for a new trial upon an appeal to the supreme court. When they were next called in the Phillips circuit court a change of venue was granted to the Lee circuit court. They

have been pending here for more than a year. Prosecuting Attorney J. E. Miller has caused them to be continued pending the outcome of the cases against six other Elaine rioters now before the United States supreme court. These last cases have been reviewed by the Arkansas supreme court and the death sentence was affirmed. Several times Gov. McRae has set the day for execution, but each time appeals to higher courts have operated to stay the executions. They are now in the United States supreme court. Mr. Miller stated that he did not care to wait longer on the decision of the United States supreme court. The Elaine case originated under Mr. Miller's tenure of office and he said he thought that they ought to be disposed of by him and not passed to his successor, hence his request for an adjourned term.



# Riots — 1922.

SPRINGFIELD M MORN UNTO  
DECEMBER 26, 1922

## Cost of Race Riots

The city of Chicago has paid out \$101,800 in settlement of twenty-three death claims growing out of the race riots in that city in 1919, and fifteen more claims remain to be acted upon. This, however, is only a small part of the money cost of the lawlessness which held sway in Chicago for nearly a week. There heavy destruction of property, and 6000 State troops had to be maintained in the city for nine days. The total cost to the city and State and to individuals probably will not be less than a million dollars. The cost in lives, regardless of the cash settlements, cannot be computed in terms of money. Thirty-eight men were killed, and nothing will bring them back to life. More than 500 were injured, and some will never completely recover from their injuries. And, worst of all, the shame of that disgraceful affair cannot be wiped out by payments of money or any other form of reparation.

Chicago.



Riots - 1922.

D.C.

## MEXICO PROTESTS

### HERRIN MASSACRE

*Commercial Appeal*

Mexicans Killed There, Wash-  
ington Is Told.

*Memphis, Tenn.*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—The State Department has received a protest from the Mexican government against the alleged killing of two Mexican citizens and the beating up of others in connection with the massacre at Herrin, Ill., it was learned in the highest authority today.

The department has acknowledged receipt of the representations, and has given its assurance that the whole circumstances of the case will be thoroughly investigated. It is understood that proper representations have been made to the governor of Illinois, and that when the Illinois authorities have completed their investigations that a further reply will be made to the Mexican government by the department.

The representations from the Mexican government are based upon two different phases of evidence. The first is the formal acknowledgment of the governor of Illinois that two Mexicans had been killed during the disorders at Herrin, and others beaten up.

The second phase of evidence embraces depositions from the Resendiz brothers, Mexican subjects, who have been for some time undergoing treatment in St. Margaret's Hospital, Kansas City, for injuries received at the hands of a mob.

One of the Resendiz brothers received dangerous knife wounds about the head, and both received bruises and lacerations from stones and clubs. In their depositions, the brothers state that they set out from Chicago in company with two other Mexicans, whose names they do not know, in search of work. They were traveling on a way train, which proceeded very slowly, stopping at intervals for the passengers to get down and eat at various stations.

About a day and a half out of Chicago, the train made the customary stop for food, and the four Mexicans got down and obtained food from the station restaurant. While eating they were set upon by a mob, armed with clubs, knives and stones and were badly beaten. The Resendiz brothers managed to make their escape, but the other two Mexicans were left behind and were not seen afterward by them.

The Mexican consul at Chicago, according to information in possession of the State Department, went to Herrin to make personal inquiries.



# Riots - 1922

Mayor W. A. Gunter, Jr., has advised the American Civil Liberties Union, with headquarters in New York, that no race riot occurred in Montgomery, Ala., subsequent to the apprehension and incarceration of Joe Terrell, negro, alleged murderer of George Wilson, county game warden, and that there has never been a racial outbreak in Montgomery.

## FAIR PLAY FOR THE NEGRO

*Justice for all*

The report on the Committee on Racial Relations, appointed by Governor Lowden of Illinois soon after the Chicago race riot in July of 1919 has just been made public. It is of national value, and not merely of local application in its findings. It discusses in a thorough way what it calls "our most grave and perplexing domestic problem," the relation of whites and Negroes. The commission, under the chairmanship of Edgar A. Bancroft, consisted of six white members, among whom were Victor Lawson, Julius Rosenwald, Professor Francis W. Shepardson of the University of Chicago and six Negroes. The volume (published by the University of Chicago press) which embodies the results of their study of the problem presents not only a new and comprehensive view of the racial situation in America but also specific suggestions as to what the local governments, the principals and teachers in the schools, the social agencies, the labor unions, the employers of labor, the street car companies and, finally though not least of all, the press ought to do.

The problem cannot be dismissed. The deportation of Negroes, the establishment of a Negro State, complete segregation—such proposals or hopes are vain. The solution must be "in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions." The story of the particular episode which led to the appointment of this commission, with the pictures which illustrate that story, is one that must bring shame to every American reader. But if it deepens the sense of obligation to assist in bettering conditions, public confession will be good for our civic soul. The recommendations of the report all have their basis in the conviction that such lapses as have been apparent among Negroes "are due to circumstances rather than to distinct racial traits."

If the public is brought to share this conviction with the commission, we shall have gone a long way toward doing the right thing by the twelve million Negroes in America.—New York Times.

*Montgomery Advertiser*  
The Kansas City Times tells us an unpleasant truth about the men indicted at Herrin, Illinois, when it says: 9/30/22

When the Herrin massacre was first reported it was generally assumed that the killing of the unarmed prisoners must have been done by aliens. Americans, people said, would never have been guilty of such atrocities.

The Jacksonville, Ill., Courier calls attention to the fact that practically every one of those indicted for the crime bears an American name. These men are not foreigners. Most of them, the Courier says, came from the mountain regions of Tennessee and Kentucky.

What sort of training and education could men have had who would show such savagery? What sort of home life was theirs? What kind of surroundings were they brought up in?

The Herrin affair invites other States to self-examination. Are they permitting children to grow up in a way that will make them possible perpetrators of tragedies like that in the Illinois coal fields?

Commenting upon the foregoing, the Birmingham Age-Herald says:

"The foreign element among coal miners has received much of the blame for disorders during strikes. Students of industrial problems declare that these men are easily led, and knowing little about their adopted country or its institutions, they are dangerous to the national welfare when aroused. Yet there is some excuse for the ignorant foreigner who may not be able to speak a word of English and is easily influenced by radical leaders. There is no excuse for Americans to take part in or condone such crimes as the Herrin massacre.

"John Lewis is regarded as a high type of labor leader, a man of intelligence and good judgment, but his unfortunate telegram to the miners at Herrin was largely responsible for the outbreak which put a stain on the entire country. That the leaders of the Herrin mob were native-born American citizens makes that tragedy all the more deplorable, and the sympathy they apparently received and are still receiving, from the citizens of Herrin only makes a bad matter worse."

This is something none of us want to hear, but it appears to be the truth.

Nevertheless, the spirit of anarchy came to us from Europe. We mean by that that it came to us long after the original American stock came over. It came with the hordes from Russia and the Mediterranean basin, and most of our crimes of an anarchistic nature are perpetrated by men of

## Alabama.

immediate alien origin with conspicuously alien names. Lynching is an American evil, but anarchy is European. Lynching is a crime of passion, anarchy is political in character.

Our worst forms of radicalism are European in origin, and are expounded and promoted largely by alien influences on our soil. It does not weaken the force of this indictment of alien influences to admit the truth of the Times' statement that familiar-old line names largely filled the list of those indicted at Herrin.